BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Sulivan, Richard Joseph, 1752-1806

Philosophical Rhapsodies Fragments Of Akbur Of Betlis. Containing Reflections On The Laws, Manners, Customs and Religions Of Certain Asiatic, Afric, and European Nationes. In Three Volumes
Bd.: 3

London (1785)

H.g.hum. 2 r-3
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10434596-4

H. g. hum. 2 r
/3

<36639367020017

<36639367020017

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

PHILOSOPHICAL

RHAPSODIES.

FRAGMENTS

OF

AKBUR OF BETLIS.

PHILOSOPHICAL RHAPSODIES.

FRAGMENTS

OF

AKBUR OF BETLIS.

CONTAINING

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

LAWS, MANNERS, CUSTOMS and RELIGIONS,

OF CERTAIN

ASIATIC, AFRIC, and EUROPEAN NATIONS.

COLLECTED AND NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

By RICHARD JOSEPH SULIVAN, Esq.

Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica Veritas.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. BECKET, PALL-MALL, BOOKSELLER TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES, AND
THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE PRINCES.
M.DCC.LXXXV.

3

58 B4

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

Philoſophical Rhapſodies.

FRAGMENT LXXXIII.

IN due order of ſucceſſion, the Greeks muſt next make their appearance: a people unqueſtionably entitled to a place in antiquity, but a place of an inferior ſtation to either the Egyptians or Phœnicians, whoſe pupils they confeſs themſelves to have been. The arts, peculiar to their ſoil, were few; and for thoſe few, and which ſucceeding ages ſaw them bring to

ſuch wonderful perfection, they were indebted to Aſia and Africa. The colonies of Egypt and Phœnicia found Greece immerſed in ignorance and barbariſm; they had warriors and they had heroes; but what were thoſe warriors and heroes? Men ſtained with inglorious blood, ruffians, and aſſaſſins. The ancient Greeks, however they may have been admired, were an uninſtructed and unciviliſed race; nor were their boaſted leaders, their demigods, any other than chiefs of wandering plunderers: ſheep-ſtealing, and ſimilar treſpaſſes, being the cauſes of their moſt celebrated conteſts.

What cauſe have I to war at thy decree?
The diſtant Trojans never injur'd me:
To Phthia's realms no hoſtile troops they led,
Safe in her vales my warlike courſers fed.

ILIAD, b. i. v. 199.

Says Achilles to Agamemnon in the Iliad. Had depredations been committed on his oxen or horſes, his language, as he gives you to underſtand, would have been

been different; but what positively proves the Greeks to have been no better than robbers by profession, at the time we are speaking of, was their addiction to piracy. Their most august monarchs were of the number of those who, without provocation, committed hostilities indiscriminately on friend and foe. Mark the time when Menelaus, the sovereign of a renowned people, and the husband of the all-beauteous Helen, was employed in exploits of that nature; and the feats that he accomplished. Priding himself in the recollection of those heroic deeds, and addressing himself to Pisistratus and Telemachus, he says,

For eight slow circling years, by tempests tost,
From Cyprus to the far Phœnician coast,
(Sidon the capital) I stretch'd my toil
Thro' regions fatten'd with the flow of Nile.

My wars, the copious theme of ev'ry tongue,
To you, your fathers have recorded long:
How fav'ring Heav'n repaid my glorious toils
With a *sack'd palace* and *barbarian spoils*.

ODYSSEY, b. iv. v. 97.

Nor did this pyratical diſpoſition ceaſe from being characteriſtical of the Grecians, as long as they remained an independent people. "My endeavours to extend the "dominions of Athens (the oath of a "military man) ſhall never ceaſe, while "there are wheat, barley, vineyards, and "olive-trees, without its limits." This comprehenſive denunciation of depreda-tion againſt all other nations, civilized or uncivilized, proves ultimately to have been the cauſe why Greece could ſend forth ſuch hoſts of brave and experienced ſoldiers; but, at the ſame time, it manifeſts the ſtate of depravity into which ſhe muſt then have been plunged.

While ignorance and barbariſm hold poſſeſſion of a people, the ſocial virtues ſink under the weight of brutality and force: it is then that the horrors of ſtrife exhibit themſelves in their moſt atrocious and moſt ſanguinary form. War, even

in

in the moſt favourable point of view, cannot be otherwiſe conſidered than as the child of hard neceſſity, malice, or injuſtice; but when ſpringing among licentious and unconnected bodies of unprincipled barbarians, it ſhews itſelf in all the violence of ferocity and murder; no ties are then attended to. Deſolation, miſery, and deſtruction, are the inevitable conſequences of oppoſition; it even ſtifles thoſe general feelings of compaſſion which every human breaſt on earth partakes of in ſome degree or other. How dreadful the words of Agamemnon to Meneläus, who, with a lifted dart, ſtood ſuſpended over a Trojan, compaſſion pleading for the fallen warrior's youth!

——— Oh impotent of mind!
Not one of all the race, nor ſex, nor age,
Shall ſave a Trojan from our boundleſs rage:
Ilion ſhall periſh whole, and bury all;
Her babes, her infants at the breaſt, ſhall fall,
A dreadful leſſon!

ILIAD, b. vi. v. 71.

And yet this was the wife, the generous Agamemnon;—the chosen leader of the armies of the Greeks!

FRAGMENT

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

FRAGMENT LXXXIV.

FEW arts were native to the ſoil of Greece. The Grecians could not boaſt of much invention: they improved, indeed, on what was communicated to them, and what they wanted in genius, they made up in perſeverance; not but that the Greeks might, in time, have been equally celebrated with either the Egyptians or the Phœnicians. But their ſociety was comparatively infantine to either of the latter; and that period of imbecility is unfavourable to great exertion, however the ſeeds may then be ſcattered, which, in the end, are deſtined to exhibit the genius and ability of a nation.

The peninſula of Greece was divided into many different ſtates, and each pre-

ſented a peculiar character. Sparta and Athens were of the greateſt degree of eminence: the firſt, rigid and auſtere, averſe from all the comforts and all the pleaſures of ſenſe; devoted to both active and paſſive reſolution, and proud, inaſmuch, as they baniſhed every enjoyment from their ſociety. The Athenians, on the other hand, lively and ingenious; fond of the refinements and luxuries of life, brave and patriotic, but vain-glorious and ſelf-ſufficient. "And ſhall not Philip "and his actions," ſaid Demoſthenes, at the moſt cultivated period of Athenian re- "finement, raiſe the like indignation? He "who is not only no Greek, no way allied "to Greece, but ſprung from a part of the "barbarian world, unworthy to be named! "a vile Macedonian, where, formerly, "we could not find a ſlave fit to pur- "chaſe." But Sparta and Athens did not give the ſtamp to the Grecian character;

racter; each republic had its peculiar and ſtrongly-marked features. All, however, were arrogant and aſſuming, proud of themſelves, and contemptuous of others; and how little they merited that prodigious ſupremacy, is glaringly to be traced in the pages of their hiſtory. But let us take a glance at them in the firſt period of their ſtory: conceive them all, as it were, aſſembled on the plains of Troy, each body of vaſſals headed by its chieftain. Look at the heroes there for a moment; fancy yourſelf at one of their entertainments; good heavens! how ſavage and brutal do they appear! Sovereigns and generals intermix on the open plain; bulls and rams are laid low by their mighty hands; ſkins are flead off, bowels and intrails torn out; and then, to crown all, the royal warriors transfix, broil the parts, and devour them with a canine voraciouſneſs.

A ſteer for ſacrifice the King deſign'd,
Of full five years, and of the nobler kind.
The victim falls; they ſtrip the ſmoaking hide,
The beaſt they quarter, and the joints divide;
Then ſpread the tables, the repaſt prepare,
Each takes his ſeat, and each receives his ſhare.
The King himſelf (an honorary ſign)
Before great Ajax plac'd the mighty chine.

ILIAD.

Nor were the Greeks remarkable for emerging quickly from their barbariſm and ignorance: it was not until the yer 1493, before Chriſt, that they began to write; and then they fell into all the abſurdities of their maſters, the Egyptians and the Phœnicians. The tales of hyperbole and ſuperſtition they greedily imbibed. Every rude and unfaſhioned doctrine became a favourite object of their belief; their credulity was unbounded; and yet, it muſt be confeſſed, wiſdom and inſtruction had their riſe in that very credulity; for fabulous as their hiſtory and mythology undoubtedly were,

the

the ſweet and harmonious numbers in which they were afterwards handed down, imperceptibly faſcinated mankind, and led them to ſtudious inveſtigation. Of their golden age, indeed, I have but little idea: we muſt conceive it to have been poetical; and fiction we know to be the ſoul of poetry.

Theſe were the ſubjects of old Saturn's reign:
Like gods they liv'd, with boſoms void of care,
To toil and pain eſtrang'd: cold age ne'er ſhook
Their vigorous limbs; but in eternal feaſt
They paſs'd the joyous time: then full of days,
As if o'ercome by gentle ſleep, they dy'd.
In life each good was theirs; the fruitful earth
Spontaneous pour'd perpetual harveſt round;
Which in glad eaſe they quietly enjoy'd.
And when deſcending to the grave, in duſt
They ſhrouded lay, their ſouls by Jove's high will
Were guardian Genii made; in airy forms
To wander earth, and bleſs the kindred juſt;
Unſeen, obſerving every deed of man
Of wealth, and bleſs th' awarders here below.

Can it be believed that Heſiod ſung thus ſweetly to the Grecians of the reign

of

of Saturn; and that the ſame people ſhould, for ſo many ages afterwards, continue in ignorance and barbariſm? This is, indeed, the repreſentation of a golden age; and whether Saturn's or Noah's, as hath been conjectured, or any other's, as the Greeks received the tradition of it, and believed it orthodox, they would not have departed, one would ſuppoſe, from the ſocial ſyſtem it held out. But the Greeks, or the greateſt portion of them, were in every period of their hiſtory, and in this as probably as in any other, men more of words and imagination than of judgement and proper diſcrimination. By their poetical compoſitions, their oratory, and their hiſtorical details, as I have juſt ſaid, they had, in their advanced age, the happy talent of veiling their defects; and in an equal ratio of holding out their commendable qualifications, in brilliant, though it

is pardonable to conjecture them, exaggerated colours*.

I do not presume to call in question, much less to arraign, the abilities of those sages, on whom they bestowed the flattering appellation of philosophers or lovers of wisdom; they were unquestionably great and most respectable characters. The names of Thales, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, besides many others, must be ever held in the highest veneration; but these were men of speculation, men of words, who disputed, and who wrote in their porticoes and schools. The bulk of the people, or rather the national dis-

* It has been remarked by an eminent critic, that the ancient epic poets were very unskilful teachers of virtue. That the reader might rise from their works with a greater degree of active and passive fortitude, and sometimes of prudence; but that he would be able to carry away few precepts of justice, and none of mercy.

position,

poſition, is what we are to conſider. Academies, and other ſeminaries of learning, will ever produce ſubtle and nice diſquiſitions on abſtracted ſubjects. Governments, manners, and cuſtoms, are eſſentially different; they are to be judged of only in the rough. While the philoſophers, therefore, are at reſt upon the ſhelves, we ſhall content ourſelves with the humbler inveſtigation. We ſhall touch but lightly even on the arts and ſciences of the Greeks, of which they were ſo proud; but excepting architecture, ſculpture, painting, and engraving, they had not much to boaſt of. Science was at a very low ebb among them, eſpecially that of the ſublime and demonſtrative kind.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT LXXXV.

WHAT I have juſt ſaid muſt be taken in a comparative point of view, with the ſcientific knowledge of the preſent times; a mode, by the way, not very impartial, when we reflect on our being ourſelves indebted to Greece for our firſt acquaintance with the arts and ſciences; and particularly when we take into the account the very many centuries the ingenuity of man has had to work upon their foundations. The immenſe noiſe, the very eager and bigoted curioſity which hath been excited by this nation of nations, together with the ſuper-eminent reputation which hath been given to them, makes me, perhaps, when diſappointed in my reſearches, unjuſt and uncandid to the Greeks.

Greeks. I ſhould be ſorry to find it ſo; but whatever I may detract from the very exalted character they hold, can be of little conſequence. Fixed on a broad and firm baſis, the puny opinion of an individual can neither ſhake nor endanger it. It is far beyond an inſignificant, and an unlearned man.

It is ſaid the glory of a nation is not always to be meaſured by the number of its people, or the extent of its provinces: the obſervation is juſt. Ancient and modern hiſtory affords various inſtances in proof of it; but not one more conſpicuouſly than Athens. We have already remarked that the Athenians were lively and ingenious, brave, and patriotic: added to this, they were addicted to the ſtudy of all that they ſuppoſed uſeful, and all that was elegant in the purſuits of life. From thoſe diſpoſitions aroſe that renown which they acquired for their vaſt extent

of

of knowledge; from thoſe diſpoſitions came that diſtinguiſhing and compendious eulogy on their city, "Athens, the "favoured ſeat of politeneſs and of learn-"ing;" and in reality it deſerved it. Rome, we know, when in her higheſt glory, ſent thither her ſons to ſtudy philoſopy, oratory, and juriſprudence.

One trait of this people ſhews a remarkable, if not a practicable, attention to thoſe duties which, exciting reſpect, fix a reputation, and eſtabliſh the principles of order and good government. The law of the land preſcribed a previous examination before certain judges, of the paſt conduct and diſpoſition of every candidate for public employment; it being an ordinance, "That whoever had lived a vicious and "a ſcandalous life, ſhould be deemed un-"worthy of even the meaneſt office of the "State." This was certainly a wiſer mode than the trial after death by the

Egyptians; for it had the immediate and happy effect of the prevention of abuſe; and as an example, it aſſuredly had the advantage of ſpeaking more feelingly to the ſenſes. That a regulation of this nature could not have been faithfully or rigidly carried into execution, is beyond a doubt; no ſociety ever was, nor ever will be, virtuous enough to ſteer itſelf by ſo immaculate a rule of conduct. Abilities, valour, birth, fortune, with various other adventitious circumſtances, will always have a preponderating weight in public tranſactions; but ſtill the ordinance was a commendable one. It held out a wholeſome check *in terrorem*; it ſpoke to the youth who aſpired to honours, "gain reputation in a private life, "and by that means open your way to "diſtinction in the public departments to "which your duty and ambition lead "you:" but this was Athenian diſcipline. What a contraſt to that of Sparta!

How

How ſtrange and incomprehenſible it is, that the human mind, in a refined ſociety, forgetful of the bleſſings it derives from that refinement, ſhould yet, ſoberly, ſet to work to deck out with praiſe, the ſavage and comfortleſs children of Lacedemon; and yet how many books have been written on the ſubject. A ſet of people who could be proud only that they enjoyed nothing, who aimed at greatneſs, but who miſtook the road, the road at leaſt calculated for beings poſſeſſed of rational propenſities; and yet theſe were the ſtateſmen, theſe were the legiſlators who have ſince been held up to us for imitation. What a mockery of ſenſe, what an inſult of morality, of every virtue, public and domeſtic! The grand and principal object of Lycurgus's ſyſtem was, that every individual, regardleſs of himſelf, ſhould be implicitly devoted to the State; and ſo far he, perhaps, was right. But, to accompliſh this, was there

a neceſſity that the individual ſhould be debarred of every gratification congenial to the heart of man? Could not a tender huſband, a fond father, having, at the ſame time, all the additional ties of family and friends, be in every reſpect as ſolicitous, and as eager for the independency of his country, as the poor miſerable wretch who had no home, no attachments, but thoſe preſcribed to him by compulſion and reſtraint? Who can ſay that the Spartans, by forbearance, acted agreeably either to the dictates of nature or of reaſon? Spartans, as well as others, were ordained by heaven to conſult their will. No nation, like them, was ever curſed by Providence with a degradation lower than that of the verieſt brutes of the creation; patience is abſolutely loſt when this ſubject comes to be conſidered. But let us attend a Spartan for a moment: from his birth (the dreadful examination which adjudged him either life or death being

being gone through) he is considered as the child of the State; as the child of the State he is educated; but what kind of education does he receive? No professional robber ever went through half the training to infamous practices; dexterous thieving and hardiness are the corner stones of his ability: on these he is to rear his honours and future reputation. Not a bit of food does he eat, until he steals it from one person or another; nay, should he be detected, and pinching hunger be the consequence, he is, in addition, despised for his deficiency in skill, and cruelly flogged for his negligence and inattention. Thus he goes on until he is admitted to man's estate. Here, as before, the State takes him by the hand; no solicitude is to be felt for separate property or fortune. A public table is found for him and all his fellow citizens; nay, should he even have a fa-

mily, his children are not his, they are the wards and pupils of the nation. But even in this how dreadfully is he restrained, he cannot marry when and whom he likes; neither, when married, can he see his wife when he chuses, or abide with her long, as his affections might prompt him; but what is still more shocking, should he unhappily be childless, it is a sort of duty owing by him to the State, to lend the partner of his bosom to the embraces of another man. What, what can be said of a people regulated by such laws? Can we withhold from them the epithet, comfortless savages? What a picture of society! Divested of every enjoyment; inured to ferocity and fraud; and debarred from every feeling of sensibility and tenderness. Even the gentler sex are forced from their natural dispositions, and, in conformity with the customs of their country,

are

are obliged to give into the moſt humiliating exceſſes of barbarous indelicacy.

During the firſt Meſſenian war, the Lacedemonians having bound themſelves, by oath, not to return to Sparta until their hoſtile purpoſes ſhould be accomplifhed, the women were alarmed, and deputed ſome of their numbers to recommend to the army a regard to poſterity, which would inevitably fail, ſhould the men continue obſtinate and not return to the city; upon which a corps of volunteers, conſiſting of fifty of the likelieſt young fellows, was detached from the army, and their orders were poſitive to cohabit, indiſcriminately, with all the women of the place. The ſtory ſays, the orders were obeyed.

FRAGMENT LXXXVI.

HISTORIANS are divided about the country whence the Greeks derived their religion. Some ſay it was from Egypt; others will have it from Thrace; but it is impoſſible to aſcertain which, and for this very ſimple reaſon, that every city, village, and hamlet, of the whole Peninſula, had peculiar and diſtinct divinities of its own. The Egyptians and the Thracians, therefore, together with the Phœnicians and the Syrians, may ſeverally be ſuppoſed to have contributed aſſiſtance to that whimſical edifice, reared by the Greeks into a ſyſtem of religion, in which ſacred groves, altars, and conſecrated ſtreams, ſuited the poet's admiration; while temples, ſacrifices, and proceſſions,

fully

fully anſwered the purpoſes of the ſoldier, the legiſlator, and the prieſt.

Their veneration for all the exterior of religion was certainly great: no people ever attended to it with more zeal and regularity; but the multitude of their deities was aſtoniſhing. No wood, mountain, vale, or field, but had an edifice to ſome tutelary god: rivers too came in for their portion of adoration; nor were hills and fountains forgotten. In their ſacrifices alſo they were punctual, ſtill adhering to the rooted prejudice of ſacrificing on hills, as the places neareſt to the reſidence of the gods; nor did they leave out penances or religious vows. The men were ſeen to clamber on their knees to the temples, and the women to ſweep the pavements with their hair.

From what is to be collected from the annals of the Greeks, and in particular from

from their ſyſtems of mythology, it is readily to be perceived, that the more enlightened amongſt them conſidered the whole body of their divinity as nothing more than a wiſe and wholeſome aggregate of ſolemn regulations inſtituted by man, with a view to the attainment of earthly happineſs. Each religion, they ſuppoſed, poſſeſſed of thoſe peculiar qualities which ſuited it to the immediate ſociety of its own particular ſtate, as well as to the more general ones which ſerved to ſtrengthen the ties that linked diſtinct commmunities with each other. They admitted of no excluſive favour from heaven. Man to the gods was the ſame every where; nay, ſo far did they carry this praiſe-worthy idea, that they not only offered up adoration to the deities of a foreign country, when in that country, but they even prayed to the guardian divinities of their enemies, as was inſtanced by them at the ſiege of Troy. There

are

are many paſſages in the Greek writers, which take notice of this liberality of religious ſentiment. None, however, at preſent, occurs to me more ſtriking than the ſupplication of Ulyſſes, when ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Phœacia, addreſſing himſelf to the river:

Whoe'er thou art, before whoſe ſtream unknown
I bend, a ſuppliant, at thy wat'ry throne,
Hear, azure king! nor let me fly in vain
To thee from Neptune, and the raging main.
Heav'n hears and pities hopeleſs men like me,
For ſacred ev'n to gods is miſery:
Let then thy waters give the weary reſt,
And ſave a ſuppliant, and a man diſtreſt.

ODYSSEY, b. v. v. 568.

This kind of diſpoſition led the Greeks to tolerate a greater variety of ſanctuaries than any other people, even more than the Iſraelites and Egyptians; for beſides ſacred groves, altars, and holy temples, they admitted the tombs of heroes, and the ſtatues of their gods and legiſlators as objects not to be defiled by unſanctified inter-

interference. A foe even preſenting himſelf before his enemy's hearth, inſured to himſelf hoſpitality and protection.

> Then to the genial hearth he bow'd his face,
> And, humbl'd, in the aſhes took his place.

Nay, ſo entirely did they attend to the obſervance of all theſe matters, and ſo highly did they hold them in eſtimation, that they eſtabliſhed the belief of a law of hoſpitality even among the gods; and yet ſo contradictory is human nature, that this very people, theſe tolerating religioniſts, had their perſecuting and their holy wars.

Zeal, freed from the fetters of reſtraint, and impelled by unbridled paſſion, exhibits the moſt extravagant varieties. The moſt diſſimilar propenſities follow, and blind the bigot in rotation. Love, hatred, cowardice, magnanimity, all become jumbled together; and ſuch is the com-

compound, that it ſhews moſt hideous indeed. Thus the Greeks, though celebrated for refinement, and for the pureſt ſentiments of civil and religious liberty, could yet enter into leagues and covenants; and in the ſpirit of devotion, butcher each other without mercy. Philip of Macedon, him that Demoſthenes ſo loudly declaimed againſt, headed, if you recollect, a religious confederacy againſt the Phocians.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT LXXXVII.

"ALL prieſts and archons are to be "elected out of the nobility, whoſe duty "it is to interpret all laws, both human "and divine." So ſpoke the law of the Greeks; ſo ſpoke the law of the Hindoos, Iſraelites, and Egyptians, long before them; and the ſame effects ſprang from the ſame cauſes among all. Neither Bramins, nor high prieſts, however, ever ventured impoſition upon ſo grand a ſcale as the Grecians did. It is obſervable, that in all countries a particular period exiſts, when ſupernatural knowledge is generally and firmly believed. The firſt efforts of reaſon in ſociety ſeem to delight in ſuperſtition. What nation can be pointed out which did not, ſome time or other, admit of the belief of inſpiration?

Hindoos,

Hindoos, Egyptians, Iſraelites, Chriſtians, and Mohammedans, all had their prophets who boaſted of an immediate, though, in general, a ſecret correſpondence with heaven. Hence came religious apprehenſion; on apprehenſion was founded ſuperſtition; and from them both aroſe an ignorant and bigoted obſtinacy, to cheriſh and ſupport the prevalency of what they ſyſtematically denominated faith.

We have had occaſion to touch upon this ſubject in the courſe of our preceding inquiries; but if, in the inſtances which we have hitherto mentioned, the poſitive controlling influence of prieſtly interference has been inſiſted on, how much more exorbitant will it appear, in the multiplicity of gods, myſteries, oracles, and prodigies, exhibited by the Greeks? That theſe were all inſtituted, or the greateſt part of them at leaſt, on ſelfiſh

prin-

principles, no one, who has looked into the world, can in any wife doubt. They were not all, indeed, fabricated and claſſed at once; a ſucceſſion of them aroſe on the ſound principle of intereſt and orthodox calculation; that novelty will ever be encouraged. "Increaſe and multiply" was, undoubtedly, as well underſtood by the Greeks, as by any other people whatever: the revenues of the church were never to be neglected. Quintus Curtius can even tell us, that the plunder taken by the Phocians from the temple of Delphos in the ſecond ſacred war, amounted to the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand talents, or twenty-nine millions ſterling.

Believe me, men and gods with gifts are pleas'd.
Ev'n angry Jove by off'rings is appeas'd.
With preſents, fools and wiſe alike are caught.

OVID. CONGREVE.

The oracles of Greece were what ſerved, in the higheſt degree, to enrich

not

not only the prieſts, but even the different ſtates of the peninſula. They were the moſt intrepid inſtitutions that ever were impoſed upon the world: the face of the land was admirably calculated for them. Mountains, but particularly dreary caverns, where awful ſounds, murmuring winds, and horrible darkneſs, ſerved wonderfully to impreſs the mind with religious terror. In theſe caverns, the holy ones of Greece planned and concerted their deceitful myſteries: here they fabricated thoſe reſponſes in which credulity placed the moſt implicit belief. Well-contrived paſſages, hollow ſtatues, and various other means, enabled them to carry on the farce without detection. Here, in ſhort, thoſe children of Erebus ſtrung together thoſe ſentences which ſerved but to bewilder the underſtandings of mankind.

The moſt celebrated of the oracles of Greece was the Delphic: here were to be ſeen kings, philoſophers, magiſtrates, generals; in ſhort, characters of every denomination, all indiſcriminately playing the fool together; kingdoms at the ſame time depending on the ambiguous nonſenſe of a fanatic. The oracular fiat was generally given *viva voce*, although in ſome inſtances it was given in ſealed letters, or written on the leaves of trees, as was cuſtomary with the Sybil of Cumæ. Whether the prieſteſs of Apollo was admitted into the ſecrets of the prieſts, or whether ſhe was choſen by them in conſequence of her having a properly-adapted diſpoſition to enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, is very immaterial. It is certain, that, if not convinced of the poſitive inſpiration of the god, ſhe yet was taught to act the part of preternatural ecſtaſy to a great degree of perfection. The accounts we have of her

are

are ſingularly curious: her compoſure when ſeated on the Tripos; her ſilence; her gradual animation; and ultimately her fury, when ſhe pronounced her oracles. What Virgil ſays of the Sybil, is finely deſcriptive of this phrenzy:

——— ——— Aloud ſhe cries,
He comes, behold the god! thus while ſhe ſaid
(And ſhiv'ring at the ſacred entry ſtaid)
Her colour chang'd, her face was not the ſame,
And hollow groans from her deep ſpirit came.
Her hair ſtood up; convulſive rage poſſeſs'd
Her trembling limbs, and heav'd her lab'ring breaſt.
Greater than human kind ſhe ſeem'd to look:
And with an accent more than mortal ſpoke.
Her ſtaring eyes with ſpeaking fury roll;
When all the god came ruſhing on her ſoul.
Swiftly ſhe turn'd, and foaming as ſhe ſpoke.

DRYDEN.

The reſponſes given in this ecſtatic manner by the Pythia, were carefully collected by the prieſts, and were by them put into verſe; and ſometimes in ſo ſlovenly and inharmonious a ſtyle, as occa-

ſioned the irreligious to ſay, that Apollo, the prince of the muſes, was the worſt of the poets. But how the Pythia herſelf was inſtructed in theſe reſponſes, is not ſo eaſy to determine. No previous ſtudy could poſſibly provide for all contingencies: communications from the cavern, muſt, aſſuredly, have worked the inſpiration. Chryſoſtom and Origen, indeed, repreſent her on the tripod over the ſacred vent, and in that manner, and not in the moſt decent poſition, receiving the oracular ſpirit; nor is Juſtin Martyr behind hand with thoſe fathers, for he does not heſitate to ſay, that during the act of inſpiration, the devil had always an improper connection with the inſpired. However this may be, the Pythia certainly had collateral aid, and it unqueſtionably muſt have come from the ſubterraneous chambers which were artfully conſtructed for that purpoſe; and from hollow ſta-

tues,

tues, in which the prieſts could place themſelves.

But if the groſſeſt ſuperſtition, in certain caſes, reigned over the people of Greece, there were others in which morality and wiſdom were fully as conſpicuous; one of which I ſhall mention. We will not, with Theodoret, believe that the Eleuſinian myſteries, which I now allude to, taught nothing but what was indelicate and obſcene: that pious Chriſtian was a little too uncharitable. We will rather ſubmit ourſelves to the deciſion of Cicero, who himſelf, of the number of the initiated, was, from perſonal knowledge, well qualified to pronounce a well-founded opinion. "Theſe were "the myſteries," ſays Cicero, "which "have drawn us from the barbarous and "ſavage life our anceſtors led. It is the "greateſt good that has come to us from

" the city of Athens, among ſo many,
" that ſhe has ſpread amongſt mankind;
" it is ſhe that has taught us not only
" to live with you, but, ſtill more, to
" die with tranquillity, in the hope of
" becoming more happy." It is beyond a doubt, that of all the religious obſervances of antiquity, none of them attracted ſuch univerſal admiration as theſe myſteries: they were held in the higheſt eſtimation by the ancients; nor have the moderns failed to conjecture upon them, and, in ſome reſpects, to fix a kind of affinity between them and certain doctrines handed down to us in ſacred writ. But this we ſhall not touch upon: they evidently inculcated the ſublime idea of the immortality of the ſoul. Cicero's concluding words are clearly expreſſive of it; but the immortality of the ſoul was a very old idea among the Greeks. Homer, who lived ages before Cicero,

and

and before the feſtival of Eleuſis, ſupports it in the moſt unequivocal language:

'Tis true, 'tis certain, man, tho' dead, retains
Part of himſelf; th' immortal mind remains:
The form ſubſiſts without the body's aid;
Aërial ſemblance, and an empty ſhade.

POPE'S ILIAD, b. xxiii. v. 122.

And yet moral and praiſe-worthy as the Eleuſinian myſteries were, one cannot refrain from ſmiling at the whimſical contradictons of this lively people on this very ſubject. The myſteries we have been ſpeaking of, and which were inſtituted to Ceres, in Attica, were forced to give way to another ſpecies of feſtival, inſtituted to the ſame Ceres at Pellene in Achaia. You may remember to have read the account of it: "This feſtival continued ſeven "days, upon the third of which, all the "men and dogs being ſhut out of the "temple, the women, together with the "bitches, remained within, and having,

" that night, performed the accuſtomed
" rites, on the day following returned to
" the men, with whom they paſſed away
" their time in laughing and jeſting at
" one another."

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT LXXXVIII.

THE Hindoos, the Egyptians, and the Jews, were all famous for paying a profound attention to omens, and to lucky and unlucky days; nor were the Greeks exempt from the like propoſterous ſuperſtition. When we read of an old woman's ſpitting in her breaſt three times to avert faſcination, we cannot avoid ſmiling; but when we ſee a brave body of men, and commanded by ſuch a general as Xenophon, ſtopped at the very moment they were urged to commence the battle, by a ſoldier's ſneezing in the ranks, we cannot but be ſenſible of indignation mingled with contempt. Terror from eclipſes, earthquakes, or ſuch like awful and uncommon phœnomena, we can readily be indulgent to; but ſneez-

ing

ing is ſo thoroughly ridiculous, that one cannot, with patience, hear of a wiſe people's attending to it, and that in ſo ſerious a degree, as to be the cauſe of checking the ſpirits of an army, animated with all the ardor of patriotiſm and zeal. The prevalency of this weakneſs, however, muſt have exiſted during many ages; for Homer, who is ſuppoſed to have written five hundred and forty-eight years before Xenophon flouriſhed, mentions it in his Odyſſey:

——— Telemachus then ſneez'd aloud;
Conſtrain'd, his noſtril echo'd thro' the croud.
The ſmiling queen the happy omen bleſt.

B. vii. v. 624.

In a ſoil luxuriant in ſuperſtition like that of Greece, we may be aſſured that no impoſitions were left untried, which prieſtly ingenuity could bring into reputation: accordingly we find they had ſoothſayers, divines, oracle-mongers; in ſhort,

every

every ſpecies of that exhauſtleſs tribe of intereſted beings. They had their ordeals too, ſimple and complicated; their luſtral waters; together with all the noſtrums, tricks, and artifices of holy juggling.

Does ſuperſtition make men diſhoneſt? Or does it diſperſe thoſe prejudices which in healthy minds are adverſe to indirect practices? The reply to this on the firſt view, is certainly no; religious apprehenſion can never foſter iniquitous ideas. But look at it a little nearer; at expiations, abſolutions; how do they affect the diſpoſitions of mankind? Is it more conſonant to reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the man devoid of ſuperſtition, and who acts as one reſponſible only to his Maker, or who conducts himſelf agreeably to the dictates of morality, is more likely to be a knave, than the timid wretch, who, giving his conſcience into venal keeping, knows he can purchaſe

chaſe pardon, however flagitious may be his crime? On this view of the queſtion, I am afraid we muſt alter the opinion to the affirmative. The man who has it in his power to act without the alarm of a ſeverity of puniſhment, will always (and I am ſorry to believe it to be the bias of human nature) be guilty of greater enormities, than he who has nothing but his conſcience to ſtand in dread of. That monitor, indeed, would ſpeak as freely to the one as to the other; but in the one inſtance it is lulled aſleep by forgiveneſs and plenary indulgence; whereas in the other, it is left to its own native energy, and to the internal chaſtiſement which it never fails bitterly to inflict.

The Greeks, of whom we are ſpeaking, verify this pernicious effect of ſuperſtition in a ſtriking degree, or, at leaſt, mani-

feſt

feſt that Virtue is not at all times the handmaid of Superſtition. Notorious as the Carthagenians were for a looſe morality, the univerſal violation of their faith was never more proverbial than that of the Greeks. Treachery and perfidiouſneſs were their grand national features; inſomuch, that Grecian was held in the ſame diſreputable light with Punic faith. "That nation," ſays Tully, their great admirer, "never made any conſcience of "obſerving their oaths:" and Polybius again, more forcibly; "Among the "Greeks," ſays that hiſtorian, "if you "lend only one talent, and for ſecurity "have ten bonds, with as many ſeals, and "double the number of witneſſes, yet "all theſe obligations can ſcarcely force "them to be honeſt." Fickleneſs, inconſtancy, and a general aptitude to fraud, were, in fact, the characteriſtical marks of the Greeks. Even the auſtere children of Lacædemon could bend a little from

the

the rigid rules of right: "that which is "beneficial, can never be baſe," was one of their favourite and moſt popular adages.

And yet how contradictory does it appear, that this very people ſhould have apparently ſo ſtrong a predilection for good faith, as that in ſome places death was the puniſhment of ſuch as had borne falſe teſtimony; and that almoſt every where, either the puniſhment due to the crime with which an innocent perſon was charged, was inflicted on the accuſer, or he was condemned to the payment of a conſiderable pecuniary fine: they even held it a firm article of their belief, "That though falſe-ſwearers ſometimes "eſcaped human puniſhment, the divine "vengeance would not fail to overtake "them." From contemporary evidence, however, this ſeems to have had but in-

conſiderable

conſiderable weight in keeping them in the paths of righteouſneſs, any more than the wholeſome ordinance, "Injure not, nor "wrong the ſtranger; put the bewildered "traveller in his way, and be hoſpitable "to him." To this laſt part of the injunction, it muſt be confeſſed, they ſeem to have been attentive: they were unqueſtionably an hoſpitable nation. How ſacred they held that virtue, is expreſſly marked by Homer, on the meeting of Diomed and Glaucus, whoſe grandfathers, though they were enemies, had been mutual gueſts.

——Tranſport fill'd Tydides' heart,
In earth the gen'rous warrior fix'd his dart,
Then friendly thus the Lycian prince addreſt:
Welcome, my brave hereditary gueſt!
Thus ever let us meet with kind embrace,
Nor ſtain the ſacred friendſhip of our race.
Know, chief, our grandſires have been gueſts of old.—
Now change we arms, and prove to either hoſt,
We guard the friendſhip of the line we boaſt.

ILIAD, b. vi. v. 261.

But

But however careful they were to fulfil all the rites of hoſpitality, it is evident that their mal-practices muſt have forcibly ſtruck ſuch minds as thoſe of Cicero and Polybius; and that thoſe practices muſt have extended to foreigners, as well as to the members of their own immediate community; and this too, while the poliſhed Athenians could weakly boaſt of their chamber of juſtice, which took cognizance of treſpaſſes committed even by inanimate things: for inſtance, the inſtrument with which a man was murdered, and which in conſequence incurred the penalty of being ejected out of the ſtate of Athens*; nay, we are told, that this very

* The common law of England relative to deodands or forfeitures, is not very diſſimilar to this. Whatever is the immediate occaſion of the death of any reaſonable creature is forfeited: thus, for inſtance, if a carriage runs over a man, and occaſions his death, not only that part which gave the wound, (as the wheel

very ſame Athens, the ſacrificer, after having ſtruck the animal, fled for it, and flung away his axe. The purſuers then ſeized the axe, and entered an action againſt it. The advocate for the axe pleaded it was leſs guilty than the grinder who had ſharpened it; the grinder laid the blame on the ſtone which ſharpened it; and thus they went on with a mockery of, rather than an attention to, thoſe externals, which reflect veneration and dignity on juſtice.

wheel which runs over the body) but all things which move with it, and help to make the wound more dangerous (as the cart and loading which increaſe the preſſure of the wheels) are forfeited.

FRAGMENT LXXXIX.

MANY of the laws of the Greeks were unnaturally and barbarouſly ſevere. Among others it was enacted, "If, "through the infirmity of old age, or "torture of diſeaſe, a father ſhould be "found diſtempered in his mind, a ſon "ſhould have the privilege of bringing "an action againſt him, and in the "event of his being caſt, have the power "of keeping him in bonds." The Athenians again, all accompliſhed as they have been held up to us, ordained that the aged and infirm ſhould, in caſe of a ſiege, one and all, be put to death; and thus they rewarded the hoary warrior and ſtateſman.

Merciful God! who can reflect without the keeneſt horror, on feeble and helpleſs age being thus wickedly cruſhed, when the remnant of life, perhaps honourably ſpent, was verging decently and quietly to its repoſe? Could men like theſe have hearts? Oh, unfeeling, pitileſs, Athenians! The inferior order of domeſtics was likewiſe expoſed to the moſt cruel and inhuman treatment; but inferior domeſtics, indeed, were looked upon as the poſitive property of their maſters, as much ſo as their lands. It was not only lawful to chaſtiſe, torment, and ſtarve them, but their maſters were even allowed to put them to death at pleaſure. Dreadful prerogative! Nor had the unhappy creatures who exiſted in this vileſt ſpecies of ſlavery, the common appeal of the miſerable, an appeal to the guardian protection of the legiſlature. Their wretchedneſs had the ſanction of law ſtamped upon it:

they came into the world a prejudged race; they derived degradation and infamy from their fathers; they then paſſed it in inheritance to their children.

In Attica, ſlaves of a ſuperior claſs had a greater degree of tenderneſs ſhewn to them, than in almoſt any other part of Greece. Theſe (the firſt claſs) had the courts open to their complaints: they could proſecute their taſk-maſter for inhuman uſage; they had the temple of Theſeus to fly to as a ſanctuary; they could even compel their lords to take certain ſums of money, if ſuch ſums they could raiſe, for the purchaſe of their liberty. But what ſhall we ſay of Lacedæmon, that hardy foundery of iron ſouls? Plutarch ſpeaks of a cuſtom at Sparta, (and cuſtom, you know, is the common law of the land) which beggars every thing in the annals of the world for barbarity, "It was an ordinance," ſays Plu-

Plutarch, "either of the Ephori or of "Lycurgus, by which thoſe who had "the care of the young men, diſpatched, "privately, ſome of the ableſt of them "into the country, from time to time, "armed only with daggers, and taking "a little neceſſary proviſion with them. "Theſe, in the day time, hid themſelves "in the thickets and clefts, and there lay "cloſe; but, in the night, iſſued out "into the highways, and murdered all "the Helots they could light upon. "Sometimes they ſet upon them in the "day, as they were at work in the fields, "and killed them in cold blood."

Now if ſuch a regulation as this (to proceed a little farther in this dreadful ſcale) had exiſted among the Locrians, another canton in the ſame peninſula of Greece, for fortunately it was afterwards aboliſhed at Lacedæmon, its duration would have ſtood a good chance of being

co-equal with the duration of the ſtate, for it was an ordinance of the Locrian lawgiver, Zaleucus, that "whoever pro-
"poſed enacting a new law, or the abro-
"gation of an old one, ſhould come into
"the aſſembly with a halter about his
"neck; that his propoſal, ſhould his
"reaſons be thought good and ſufficient,
"ſhould be embraced; but contrarywiſe,
"ſhould they fail of carrying the neceſſary
"conviction, that the penalty ſhould be
"death, by immediate ſtrangling."

We muſt confeſs that the Athenians were neither ſo barbarous nor ſo ferocious as the Spartans or the Locrians. In the paſſing of their laws in particular, they manifeſted an enlightened degree of underſtanding: "It is the expreſs direction
"of our great lawgiver," ſays *Æſchines* in his oration againſt Cteſiphon, "that in
"every year our body of laws ſhall be
"adjuſted by the legal inſpectors in the
"popular

" popular aſſembly; and if, after due
" examination and inſpection, it ſhall ap-
" pear that a law hath been enacted con-
" tradictory to a former law; or that
" any one, when repealed, ſhall ſtill hold
" its place among thoſe actually in force,
" or that any more than one have been
" enacted on the ſame ſubject, that, in
" all ſuch caſes, the laws ſhall be tranſ-
" cribed, and fixed up in public on the
" ſtatues of our heroes. That the pro-
" per officers ſhall propoſe the queſtion to
" the people, that they may, by their
" voices, repeal ſome and eſtabliſh others:
" that ſo, one ſingle law, and no more,
" may remain in force on the ſubject."

This, ſurely, ſpeaks eminently for the Athenians: it ſhews abundance of wiſdom and good ſenſe; ſo much, that it were devoutly to be wiſhed, that certain nations, of modern times, would move in a line ſo full of ſecurity to the

ſubject; for it is a certainty, and a melancholy one, indeed, it may be called, that in moſt countries of Europe, nine-tenths of the people do not comprehend the various reſtrictions of their laws. Even thoſe who do, if not compelled to it profeſſionally, are ſo bewildered with niceties, diſtinctions, and quibbles of every poſſible denomination, that they are in a perpetual labyrinth of doubt and uncertainty. Laws ſhould be clear, ſimple, and well defined.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT XC.

THE Athenians were, in every reſpect, the moſt refined of the people of Greece. They had, undoubtedly, ſtrange uſages prevalent among them; yet ſtrange as they were, they were greatly ſuperior to thoſe of many of the other ſtates. One of the moſt extraordinary, and apparently the moſt unjuſt, was the puniſhment by Oſtraciſm, and yet it is averred both by Ariſtotle and Plutarch, that it was abſolutely eſſential to the preſervation of a properly-poiſed, popular government.

That men ſhould ſuffer for their good actions, ſeems ſomewhat paradoxical: no doubt, a pertinaceous attention was neceſ-

ſary to the conduct and deportment of the moſt eminent men; and the people, as abhorrers of royalty, were in the right to eſtabliſh every poſſible check upon thoſe whom ſuperſtition might lead them to ſuppoſe aiming at ſovereign power. Neceſſary reſtraints, in a free government, againſt the ambition of individuals, are never to be condemned; but yet, why inflict on the virtuous the penalties only due to the diſſolute and abandoned? The above writers, indeed, are great and reſpectable authorities; but yet, with all due ſubmiſſion, I muſt confeſs myſelf a ſceptic, with reſpect to ſuch political poſitions. I know they breathe the doctrine that the ſeverity of the law is manifeſted, to deter from crimes by example, rather than to puniſh the criminals who fall under its cognizance; but that is not ſufficient. It never can be reconcileable, at leaſt to

the

the conviction of a plain mind, that a man, very poſſibly the moſt valuable of the community of which he is a member, ſhall be liable to the indignity and ſufferings of baniſhment, and for no other cauſe than that he has diſplayed ſuperior zeal, virtue, and ability, in the ſervice of his country. What ſhall we ſay of the fate of Ariſtides? He ſurely had claims on the gratitude of his fellow citizens, and yet he was baniſhed! But what ſhews the puniſhment to be ſtill more indefenſible is, that an illiterate peaſant, ignorant of the perſon of Ariſtides, went up to him on the day of the aſſembly of the people, and requeſted him to write the name of Ariſtides on his ſhell. The venerable magiſtrate, ſurpriſed, gently inquired if Ariſtides had ever done him an injury? The countryman replied no; "Why then," ſays he, "do you give "your vote to baniſh him by the Oſtra-

"ciſm?

" ciſm ? Becauſe, ſays he, I every where " hear him called Ariſtides the juſt." Is not this more than enough to make one diſſatisfied with that ſingular regulation ? If the votes of the majority of the multitude were to baniſh, and the majority of that multitude were to be actuated by ſimilar reaſons with the peaſant, the ſituation of Ariſtides, which was alſo that of every other great and good man of Athens, was ſurely not enviable, at leaſt it could not have been ſo with one whoſe legiſlative principles were not ſubtilized, and refined to a very great degree.

Some hiſtorians ſay, that the like jealouſy of ſuperior influence, was the grand ſource of the Athenian diſlike to traffic: fearful, leſt commerce ſhould accidentally throw into any individual hands a dangerous degree of wealth. From the works

of

of Xenophon, Plato, and Ariſtotle, as well as from various others, it would appear, that all occupations from which money was to be derived, were reckoned diſgraceful, and incongruous to the principles of a free government. Ariſtotle argues ſtrenuouſly againſt the admiſſion of artizans into the management of the affairs of ſtate; and Plato is for puniſhing a citizen who ſhall addict himſelf to commerce: and yet this very Plato defrayed the charges of his travels by ſelling oil in Egypt.

This dereliction of trade, however, is contradicted by Plutarch, who ſays, in his life of Solon, that commerce was far from being accounted mean or ignoble: that perſons of the firſt conſequence did not diſdain to betake themſelves to ſuch employments; that Solon applied himſelf

to

to merchandize; and that Thales did the ſame.

The fact is, probably, that commerce at one time was in high eſtimation, and at another in contempt. The fickleneſs of the Greeks almoſt makes contradictions reconcileable. However this may be, oratory, war, and politics, were, as with moſt other nations, the direct avenues to diſtinction; although thoſe who ſucceeded at the public exerciſes, and obtained victories at leaping, running, throwing, darting, or wreſtling, were, for a while, infinitely more careſſed and reſpected. Cicero even goes ſo far as to ſay, "that a victory in the Olympic "games was little leſs honourable than "a triumph at Rome."

But the genius of the Greeks, (I allude particularly to the Athenians) though

quick and penetrating, was yet too verſatile to be excluſively charmed with the higher qualifications of the mind: ſhows and public exhibitions, were their ſureſt and ſtrongeſt attractions. Independent of their gymnaſties and other exerciſes, they had theatrical repreſentations, with which they were delighted, even to faſcination; and this infatuation tranſported them to the greateſt exceſſes. Poets and players are repreſented as full of authority, and the firſt favourites of the State. The very ſums appropriated by government to the ſupplying armies and navies with ſtores and neceſſary ſuſtenance, were expended in ſupport of the ſtage. Plutarch ſays, it coſt more to repreſent ſome of the pieces of Sophocles and Euripides, than it would to have carried on the war againſt the barbarians. Nay, this paſſion extended to ſo outrageous a length, that it was whimſically, though, perhaps, truly ſaid, that

" fingers

" fingers and dancers were pampered up
" with marrow and other luſcious food,
" while the Admirals of their fleets had
" only meal, cheeſe, and onions, pro-
" vided for their ſubſiſtence."

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT XCI.

"A WOMAN," ſays one of the primitive fathers of the church, "went "to the play, and came back with the "devil in her; whereupon, when the "unclean ſpirit was urged and threatened "in the office of exorciſing, for having "dared to attack one of the faithful, "I have done nothing, replied he, but "what is very fair; I found her on my "own ground, and I took poſſeſſion of "her."

Now if Satan had held ſuch ſovereign ſway over the Greeks at the time we are ſpeaking of, what work would there have been for the prieſts? What herds of the unhappy female world would have been ſurcharged with devils of the vileſt deno-

mination! But insinuating practices of this nature had not yet found their way into Greece. Prolific as it was of holy phantoms, such infernal freaks had not yet crept in among them.

Licentiousness, in most things, seemed congenial to the Grecian constitution; in none more conspicuously than in the intercourse of the sexes. The Greeks had a two-fold Venus, the one of heavenly extraction, was deemed patroness of chaste and faithful love: the terrestrial goddess presided over libidinous desires. Modesty and strict decorum attended at the altars of the one; lewdness, wantonness, and debauchery, were the constant companions of the other. A custom, by the way, which was borrowed from Egypt and Phœnicia; for the maidens consecrated in Egypt and Phœnicia to the celestial Isis, or Venus Urania, were strictly pure, while those

thoſe devoted to the terreſtrial Iſis were proſtituted in the moſt public manner.

It may, indeed, in the political ſcale of reaſoning, be deemed harſh to ſtile this legiſlative acquieſcence in public proſtitution poſitive licentiouſneſs: it may, though contradictory to all moral principles, be conſidered ſtill as a wholeſome evil in a State. The unbridled appetite to ſenſual gratifications has ever been too ſtrong to admit of abſolute, compulſatory reſtraint. Where the paſſions boil, and the blood runs high, no control can ſtop the rebellious eagerneſs with which they plunge into debauchery. Hence adulteries, fornications, and all the heart-rending train of evils, from which no nation, from the beginning of the world, hath hitherto been exempt. The application of a radical cure to the ſpreading, and to the contagion of proſtitution, is, perhaps, impoſſible.

Thus, conſidered, therefore, the Greeks, like many other States, both ancient and modern, may be acquitted of licentiouſneſs; and their licenſing of courtezans may be accounted for by that hard law of neceſſity, which induces the toleration of a leſſer evil, in order to the prevention of a greater. Regulations and reſtrictions may keep within tolerable bounds, a turbulent and pernicious ſtream, and ſo far they are advantageous; but they cannot ſtop the torrent; it will force its way in ſpite of all the efforts of man. Modifying, then, is perhaps all that can be done; for there mark is but too true, that vile as the characters of proſtitutes are, they are rendered worſe by the licentious ſtate of their proſtitution.

On grounds like theſe, (for the legiſlatures of every age and every nation have deſpaired of ſubduing, entirely, unchaſte deſire) Solon permitted women to proſti-

tute

tute themſelves publicly in the temple; and the more effectually to ſtrike at adultery, he ordained that courtezans ſhould wear a peculiar garment. Thereby wiſhing to prevent, what Juvenal afterwards, in another place, ſo loudly exclaimed againſt, "Where is the ſtreet which "abounds not in obſcentity?" Notwithſtanding all this, the Greeks were aſſuredly unacquainted with what ſenſible minds acknowledge to be the refinements of paſſion. It is true, Homer ſpeaks feelingly of the divinty of love, in whoſe ceſtus was bound up

——Every art, and every charm,
To win the wiſeſt, and the coldeſt warm:
Fond love, the gentle vow, the gay deſire,
The kind deceit, the ſtill reviving fire,
Perſuaſive ſpeech, and more perſuaſive ſighs,
Silence that ſpoke, and eloquence of eyes.

ILIAD, b. xiv. v. 243.

But theſe are the words of a warm-hearted old man, whoſe breaſt was inflamed by

the nobleſt and moſt generous feelings: the maſs of the people of Greece was differently affected. All obſervation and all hiſtory ſhew, that wherever men have been addicted to the deteſtable and enormous inclination of love and fondneſs for each other, the delicate and amiable propenſities to the tenderneſs and regard of the gentler ſex have been evermore diſregarded. It cannot, be, indeed, that natural and unnatural deſires ſhall actuate the ſame frame, or that purity and the vileſt depravity ſhall go hand in hand together. Women, in ſuch countries, have been looked upon as of no other eſtimation than as the medium of the propagation of mankind. Hence it was that the Greeks had none of the comforts of domeſtic ſociety; their hearts and minds abandoned to deteſtable proſtitution, rejected the joys and delights of female endearments.

Nor

Nor was this all; the laws connived at it. Minos, the famous law-giver, permitted it at Crete: the legiſlators of Greece borrowed it from him. In ſhort, ſo prevalent was it, and to ſo dreadful a length did it run, that Solon, the wiſe Solon, authoriſed it, and that not only by precept but by example. Socrates and Plato had likewiſe their amours; in fact, it was the predominant and univerſal practice. Plutarch, in ſpeaking on this ſubject, ſays, Solon thought it neither unlawful nor ſcandalous, but, on the contrary, honourable, and well becoming an ingenuous education, inſomuch, that he forbade ſlaves the uſe of it, "as it were, "inviting the worthy to practiſe, what "he commanded the unworthy to for-"bear."

At the ſame time, however, that this horrible turpitude was ſo glaringly tolerated and extolled, it was a law, that

" whoever had proſtituted himſelf for a " catamite, ſhould not be elected archon, " prieſt, or ſyndic; ſhould execute no " office conferred by lot or ſuffrage; " be on an embaſſy; paſs verdict; ſet " footing within the public temples; be " crowned on ſolemn days, or enter the " Forum's purified precincts; ſhould he " impoſe himſelf, and be detected, he " ſhall ſuffer death." This appears ſtrangely inconſiſtent, if not palpably unjuſt; for why ſhould the unhappy wretch who proſtituted himſelf, have been more defiled and obnoxious, than the monſter to whoſe pleaſures he adminiſtered? But we will quit the ſubject, it is too diſguſting to dwell upon.

Notwithſtanding the ſouls of the Greeks were not attuned to gentle deſires, they yet, as a matter of political neceſſity, held matrimony in reſpect. In ſome of the

the commonwealths it was highly honourable, for it beſpoke an affectionate conſideration for the proſperity of the State, which could only be ſecured by the number and ſtrength of its children. At Sparta, we know, the very time was preſcribed for a citizen to marry. Refractorineſs was held in contempt; ſo that a batchelor, of a certain age, was liable to the moſt groſs, though legal, inſults and indignities; for inſtance, the laws ordained, that he ſhould run round the Forum naked; that at certain feſtivals the women ſhould drag him round the altars, cuffing and beating him the whole way; and what was worſe than all, but in which there was ſome ſenſe, that from certain ſports, where the young virgins ſcampered about naked, he ſhould be excluded.

And, indeed, ſoberly ſpeaking, theſe puniſhments were nothing more than what

an

an old ſolitary batchelor was entitled to; for obſtinacy alone could have led him to a ſingle life, ſince, as to fetters, there were none in the Grecian ſtate of matrimony. A man might as well have taken a wife unto himſelf, as to have borrowed one. Wives were neither clogs nor reſtraints upon huſbands, nor huſbands upon wives: the moſt perfect freedom was allowed to each. A jealous diſpoſition, it is true, or a diſpoſition unfortunately delicate and refined, would have ſhrunk, perhaps, at the bare poſſibility of lending the lovely treaſure of one's heart to the embraces of the firſt perſon who ſhould ſolicit her. This, it muſt be acknowledged, might have prompted many a good ſoul to the cheerleſs life of celibacy. Every man had not nerves hardy enough to admit of making over his wife to another, as Socrates did Xantippe to Alcibiades; although it was thought a very diſgrace-

ful

ful ſentence to a criminal even to loſe the privilege of lending his wife.

Lycurgus, we are told, "had a good "opinion of that man, who being old, "and having a young wife, ſhould re- "commend ſome virtuous youth that "ſhe might have a child by him, to in- "herit the good qualities of ſuch a father, "and who ſhould love that child as ten- "derly as if begotten by himſelf, chil- "dren being not ſo much the property of "their parents as of the commonwealth." But Lycurgus did not ſtop here; for ſtrangers, as well as fellow citizens, were admitted to the ſame liberties; in ſhort, to ſo licentious an exceſs did the Lacædemonians carry their brutal deſires, and all in the true ſpirit of carnal reciprocity, that the virgin daughters, it is recorded, of the nobleſt houſes among their confederates, dared not be refuſed to the laſ-

civious

civious embraces of the Spartan generals and governors.

In the midſt of all this indelicacy, however, a deviation from chaſtity in an unmarried woman was treated with infinite ſeverity. Thoſe who had paſſed the Rubicon, were deemed ſufficient for the day; and, ſurely, "ſufficient for the day "was the evil thereof." How to compare theſe cuſtoms, and to what other uſages to liken them, I profeſs myſelf ignorant. Thrace, as well as Babylon, we know, admitted of incontinency in females before marriage, though ſhe inflicted exemplary puniſhment on adultery. The ſame, at this day, may be ſaid of New Zealand, and moſt of the iſlands in the ſouthern hemiſphere, where parents are authoriſed to force their children to proſtitution; but this matrimony in common, this ſanctified proſtitution of wives, is not, in my knowledge, any where to

be

be parallelled. I ſhall therefore conclude, with a remark of the elegant and philoſophic Hume, "That barbarous nations "diſplay their ſuperiority by reducing "their females to the moſt abject ſla"very, by confining them, by beating "them, by ſelling them, by killing them; "and that the male ſex, among a polite "people, diſcover their authority in a "more generous, though not leſs evi"dent, manner, by civility, by reſpect, "by complaiſance, and, in a word, by "gallantry.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT XCII.

GALLANTRY, which includes every thing tender, lively, and refined, was totally rejected by the Greeks: they ſcouted the idea, for they looked upon it as unmanly. Hence the women of Greece conſidered as of no other uſe than for the purpoſe of child-bearing, were ſubjected to the ſlavery of capricious wantonneſs. Cecrops, who inſtituted the ceremony of marriage among them, ordained that it ſhould be celebrated between one man and one woman only, inſtead of the indiſcriminate and promiſcuous intercourſe of the ſexes, which had formerly ſubſiſted. He likewiſe was the ſpring of ſome other regulations relative to the connubial ſtate, which were held in eſtimation; but Solon was the man of men! he eſtabliſhed

it as a law, "that all men ſhould live "with their wives three nights, at leaſt, "in a month, provided they were heir-"eſſes;" and farther, "that if they did "not become fathers by thoſe heireſſes, "the heireſſes ſhould have ample leave to "ſeek for aid among the neareſt of their "huſband's relations."

With all this liberality, however, Solon was ſtill braminically phlegmatic: he would not allow that "a woman, of "innocent converſation ſhould appear "abroad undreſſed (unveiled I ſuppoſe.) "That ſhe ſhould travel with above three "gowns, or with more meat and drink "than could be purchaſed with an obo-"lus," an obolus, by the way, being no more than five farthings. Now this was certainly cruel in Solon; it was decent, to be ſure, and aimed at the ſuppreſſion of vanity and exceſſes; but it had been nearly as well for them (I mean accord-

ing

ing to Grecian manners) had the plan of female diſcipline been carried into execution at Athens, which had been adopted by Lycurgus at Sparta. That flinty-hearted legiſlator, who had not a conception either of delicacy or ſhame, ordained that "the young women of Sparta ſhould "wreſtle, ſtark-naked, before the men, "and that they ſhould dance before them "in the ſame manner, and ſing certain "ſongs." By ſuch exerciſes and hardiment, ſo bracing the nerves, and ſo ſtrengthening the conſtitution, that the children of Lacedæmon ſhould be acknowledged by all the world to be the moſt robuſt and hardy of the inhabitants of Greece; and he ſucceeded, with the aſſiſtance, indeed, of that more than helliſh practice of deſtroying ill-favoured infants: a practice, which though tolerated by other legiſlators, was never, until his time, made a poſitive reuglation of State.

The

The marriage ceremony being performed, (I ſpeak now again of Athens) "the bride was uſually conducted, in a "chariot, from her father's houſe to her "huſband's in the evening, that time be-"ing choſen to conceal her bluſhes:" a precaution, we muſt ſuppoſe, unneceſſary at Sparta, where the habitude of wreſtling muſt have rendered it impracticable to bluſh. When arrived at her own houſe, the innermoſt apartments were allotted to her; there ſhe was immured, without the converſe of any but her own ſex, excepting very near relations; neither was ſhe at liberty to partake of entertainments, where there were any other preſent than thoſe of her own, or of her huſband's kindred. Mourning was the only time when an intermixture took place; and when all indiſcriminately, we are told, "beat their breaſts and "thighs, and tore the fleſh from their "foreheads with pins and needles, there-

" by teſtifying their ſorrow, and gratify-
" ing the ghoſts of the dead, who were
" thought to feed upon, and to delight
" in nothing ſo much as blood." The manner of living of the Greeks, we have already hinted at; it improved, of courſe, as the different commonwealths became refined. Sparta alone adhered to her temperance and black broth, which made a Sybarite ſay, " He no longer wondered
" why the men of Lacedæmon were the
" valianteſt ſoldiers in the world, as any
" man, in his right wits, would rather
" die a thouſand deaths, than live upon
" ſuch execrable food."

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT XCIII.

VALOUR, as I have already noticed, was the ingredient in the Grecian character, on which they valued themſelves the moſt: they were, unqueſtionably, a brave race of men. The only prayers the Lacedæmonians had were, "that the "gods would grant what was honourable "and good for them, and that they "might be able to ſuffer injuries." Backwardneſs was, indelibly, ſtamped with infamy. A coward at Sparta was diſfranchiſed from almoſt all the rights he poſſeſſed as a citizen; he was incapacitated from holding any of the honours or dignities of the State; it was even allowable for the loweſt of the rabble to beat him when he came in their way, the

law forbidding him to lift his hand in his own defence.

The obloquy of a want of ſpirit extended itſelf even to his family and connections. It was diſgraceful to intermarry with them; in ſhort, nothing was too bad for a man marked with puſillanimity*. The *Amor Patriæ* was the ruling principle of action among the Greeks.

Death is the worſt, a fate which all muſt try;
And for our country 'tis a bliſs to die.
The gallant man, tho' ſlain in fight he be,
Yet leaves his nation ſafe, his children free:
Entails a debt on all the grateful State,
His own brave friends ſhall glory in his fate;
His wife live honour'd, all his race ſucceed,
And late poſterity enjoy the deed!

ILIAD, b. xv. v. 582.

You will confer the greateſt benefit on your city, ſays Epictetus, not by raiſing the roofs, but by exalting the ſouls of

* Even mothers, to expiate the crime, have been known to ſtab their children at their firſt meeting.

your

your fellow citizens; for it is better that great ſouls ſhould live in ſmall habitations, than that abject ſlaves ſhould burrow in great houſes.

The Greeks were, likewiſe, eminently proud of their great powers of oratory, and very juſtly ſo. The art of ſpeaking was certainly carried at Athens to an unrivalled pitch of excellence; and yet there was ſomething very illiberal and groſs in their manner of haranguing. What by moderns would be termed unpardonable abuſe, was by them conceived matter of little ſignification. Æſchines, ſpeaking againſt Demoſthenes, calls him to his face "A vile impoſtor, "a robber, a plunderer of the public; "one that would weep with greater eaſe "than others laugh; and for perjury "was, of all mankind, the moſt ready." To this Demoſthenes replies, "Come, "then, thou man of dignity, examine

" thy own life, ſay of what kind hath
" thy fortune been? A ſtate of abject
" poverty, an aſſiſtant to thy father in
" his ſchool; employed in the menial
" offices of preparing his ink, waſhing
" down his benches, and ſweeping his
" room, like a ſlave, rather than the
" child of a citizen. When arrived at
" manhood, we find thee dictating the
" forms of imitation to thy mother, af-
" fiſting in her trade; thy wages, tart,
" biſcuit, and new baked cruſts." He then continues, " Now for our compa-
" rative merits: you attended on your
" ſcholars, I was myſelf a ſcholar; you
" ſerved in the initiations, I was initi-
" ated; you were a performer in our
" public entertainments, I was the direc-
" tor; you took notes of ſpeeches, I
" was a ſpeaker; you were an under
" player, I was a ſpectator; you failed
" in your part, I hiſſed you."

Such

Such was the language of the two moſt celebrated orators of Athens, and at the moſt refined period of her hiſtory. It ſounds extraordinary to modern ears, eſpecially as the parties were of high fame, the moſt enlightened of all the pleaders of Greece; but the truth is, commonwealths and republics are rather unfavourable to politeneſs and delicacy of manners. The moſt illuſtrious characters under ſuch governments, are forced to level themſelves with the brazen-tongued multitude: monarchies, therefore, in this reſpect, have evidently the advantage of all popular forms of legiſlation.

FRAGMENT XCIV.

"MY ſpeech," ſaid Æſchines, on reading theſe orations to his pupils while in baniſhment at Rhodes, "was received with "admiration, that of Demoſthenes with "an extravagance of applauſe. How "you would have been affected, had you "but heard him deliver it!" But ſovereigns, amongſt the ancient Greeks, are repreſented as loading each other with the moſt diſgraceful epithets:

Nor yet the rage his boiling breaſt forſook,
Which thus redoubling on Atrides broke;
O monſter! mix'd with inſolence and fear,
Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer!

ILIAD, b. i. v. 295.

Thus Achilles to Agamemnon; which fully ſhews that ideas of refinement, and

axioms

axioms of honour were, as they ſtill are, greatly upheld by prejudice. How would common men ſhudder in theſe days at ſuch groſs expreſſions! The Greeks were, proverbially, rough diſputants, as well as rough actors; but language ſuch as this, is ſcarcely to be warranted in any period of ſociety.

Popular aſſemblies, it muſt be confeſſed, are always liable to indecency in debate. Where all men are upon an equality, the many will deem it uneſſential to cull the moſt delicate flowers of oratory. Strong, downright expreſſions, ſufficiently forcible to carry their meaning, are all that they will ſeek for. Hence, ſays a writer on the Grecian ſubject, if a fellow had preſumption enough and a loud voice, he had all the neceſſary accompliſhments. With no other pretenſions, handicraftſmen were ſometimes

ſent

ſent from attending on their trades, to take the command of armies.

They had, however, one very curious cuſtom, and which, as a means of condenſing an argument, would not, even in modern times, be an inconſiderable improvement; it was the regulation of the time to be allotted to each declaimer. Leſt the "length of their orations ſhould "weary the judges' patience, and hinder "them from proceeding to other buſineſs, "they were limited by an hour glaſs, in "which water was uſed inſtead of ſand; "when the glaſs was run out, they were "permitted to ſpeak no farther. Whilſt "the laws quoted by them were reciting, "or any other buſineſs happened to in-"tervene, they gave orders that the glaſs "ſhould be ſtopped. Or if a perſon had "finiſhed before the water was expended, "he could reſign the remaining part to

"any

" any other who might have occaſion for
" it."

But, as we have juſt ſeen, the intemperance of the Greeks, in addreſſing each other publicly, was certainly very far from being commendable. I would not be underſtood that freedom of debate ſhould be ſtopped by the interference of unneceſſary checks, or by thoſe appeals to perſonal explanations, which have in other countries, been ſomewhat more than tolerated. On great and national points, no reſtraints ſhould be thrown in the way of that vigour of the mind, which ſpringing in the patriot's breaſt, animates him to ſomething above humanity. It cannot, however, be denied, that a juſt decorum is as eſſential in the well-ordering and management of a State, as in the common intercourſe of individuals in ſociety.

The

The Romans, though ſomewhat faulty, were yet far leſs culpable than the Greeks in this reſpect; but neither the one nor the other of theſe nations had ever eſtabliſhed thoſe principles, which, by making a man judge of his own, as well as of the actions of others, placed him in the ſituation of preſcribing the limits of good manners and good ſenſe. Honour, as it is now called, was very little thought of by the ancients; with the Greeks in particular, integrity and virtue were of very little eſtimation. It has often been argued, that true honour depends not on the fluctuating opinions of this or that period of time, or on this or that body of men; that its pure and ſimple dictates ſpeak in all ages, and in all countries alike: the poſition, I doubt, is erroneous. It is, indeed, finely ſaid of virtue, and may with equal propriety be ſaid of honour,

Knaves fain would laugh at it; ſome great ones dare;
But, at his heart, the moſt undaunted ſon
Of fortune, dreads its name and awful charms.

ARMSTRONG.

Honour, with the rules for its preſervation, I cannot but look upon as the offſpring of immediate and local prejudice. In the track we have already gone over, we have ſeen nothing of thoſe ſanguinary uſages which have, within a few centuries, ſo firmly rooted themſelves in Europe. The hardy ſons of the Pagan world ſpurned at individual revenge; to redreſs their country's wrong, and to devote themſelves to it, they never were averſe. But they neither allowed themſelves to be hurried away by the impetuoſity of paſſion, nor by the apprehenſion of ſhame. I do not preſume entirely to condemn the practice of duelling, there are injuries to which the feelings of a ſuſceptible mind cannot ſubmit; they are

only

only to be healed by ſatisfying that ſpirit of retaliation which cannot but be rouſed when grievouſly oppreſſed. I addreſs myſelf merely to the conſideration of that falſe principle of honour, which, cheriſhed by the abſurd tyranny of cuſtom, makes an appeal to the ſword as neceſſary for a trifling offence, as for one which murders the peace, the happineſs, and reputation of an innocent and honourable character.

That reaſon is given to the wind, when this ſubject comes to be conſidered, is unhappily moſt true. The young and the romantic ſcorn the temperate voice of prudence, which admits not that the field of conteſt can be the court of law; or that the death of either party can be the means of wiping off the injury, or the indignity which has been offered. Eternity may ſtare at them with an awful

ful and tremendous aſpect! Religion may hold forth the puniſhments attendant on ſelf deſtruction. Contemning all, they liſten to nought but the prevalency of cuſtom: the ſhame or fear of the opinions of man, riſes paramount to the dread and apprehenſion of an hereafter. The prejudice having gone abroad, they, in deſpite of preſent and future conſideration, ruſh with precipitancy and deſperation into

> That undiſcover'd country from whoſe bourne
> No traveller returns.
>
> SHAKESPEARE.

But we will not dwell upon a ſubject which has employed the pens of the moſt enlightened men; and who have moſt ably ſhewn the modern ideas of honour to be in direct oppoſition to the mild precepts of Chriſtianity, which enjoin reſignation, forgiveneſs, humility, and a rigid forbearance from the blood of

a fellow

a fellow creature. Impatience, revenge, ſelf-exaltation, and even murder, are the conſequences of an unmanly acquieſcence in the arbitrary deciſion of the unthinking.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT XCV.

I WILL not contend that it was from a tender concern for each other, or from a principle of humanity, that the Greeks held private duelling in abhorrence. No people of the days in which they flouriſhed, were more ſanguinary; neither can it be ſuppoſed that it proceeded from cowardice, or inattention to what they called honour, for none were more ready to enter the liſts, or more determined to conquer or periſh. National, inſtead of individual injuries, were alone in their eſtimation worthy of conteſt, although Menelaüs and Paris may be adduced in contradiction. Thoſe Princes, indeed, fought; but then their duel, however perſonal their quarrel, was in no reſpect

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

leſs national than that of Hector and Ajax; each was the conſequence of a public defiance and on public grounds. Thus Hector to Ajax:

Oh firſt of Greeks! his noble foe rejoin'd,
Whom Heav'n adorns, ſuperior to thy kind;
Since, then, the night extends her gloomy ſhade,
And Heav'n enjoins it, be the night obey'd.
Return brave Ajax, to thy Grecian friends,
And joy the nations whom thy arm defends;
Some future day ſhall lengthen out the ſtrife,
And let the gods decide of death or life!
But let us, on this memorable day,
Exchange ſome gift, that Greece and Troy may ſay,
"Not hate, but glory, made their chiefs contend,
"And each brave foe was in his heart a friend."

ILIAD, b. vii. v. 350.

This ſtile of duelling, it muſt be confeſſed, was heroic and magnanimous; it was worthy great and illuſtrious characters, and if exiſting now, could not but be applauded. To riſque one's life in the cauſe of one's country, is, to a noble ſoul, devoutly to be wiſhed for; it is an offering acceptable to God and man.

The

The vaſt diſtance between ſo glorious a principle, and that of little individual revenge, is too glaring to be inſiſted upon. How low the combatants in one light ſink! How grand! How ſuperior do they riſe in the other! Honour! Thou ſurely art miſtaken by many of thy modern votaries!

The Greeks, as they ſteered clear of capriciouſneſs in the adjuſtment of perſonal concerns, were equally averſe from conceiving the practice of duelling eſſential to other matters of ſociety, which, ſince their time, have been moſt prepoſterouſly ſubmitted to ſuch deciſion. Oh that the heroes of Thermopylæ and Marathon could have ariſen at the time, to have ſeen duelling made the arbiter of kingdoms, the expounder of the laws of nations! What madneſs! And yet the fact is not to be controverted.

Europe, in her annals, can furniſh variety of proof of ſuch appeal. Even a thouſand years, nearly, after the introduction of Chriſtianity, at a Diet aſſembled at Ratiſbon by the Emperor Otho I. of Germany, the diſputed point of inheritance deſcending in a direct line, was referred, by the learned, to a deciſion by duel.

However feelingly, and however elegantly, Homer makes Hector ſpeak, there yet is great reaſon to ſuppoſe, that though ſingle combat might have been liberally conducted, public conteſt, with the general laws of war, muſt have been cruel among the Greeks. The baſe indignities heaped upon the body of this very Hector by Achilles, manifeſt it: Hector, exultingly, ſays he, is dead, and Ilion is no more!

Then his fell ſoul a thought of vengeance bred,
(Unworthy of himſelf, and of the dead)

The

The nervous ancles bor'd, his feet he bound,
With thongs inſerted thro' the double wound;
Theſe fix'd upright behind the rolling wain,
His graceful head was trail'd along the plain.
Proud on his car the inſulting victor ſtood,
And bore aloft his arms diſtilling blood.
He ſmites the ſteeds, the rapid chariot flies;
The ſudden clouds of circling duſt ariſe.
Now loſt is all that formidable air,
The face divine, and long deſcending hair;
Purple the ground, and ſtreak the ſable ſand,
Deform'd, diſhonour'd, in his native land!
Giv'n to the rage of an inſulting throng,
And in his parents' ſight now dragg'd along!

ILIAD, b. xxii. v. 494.

This ſame god-like man, Achilles, we again, in another inſtance, ſee immolating a number of unhappy priſoners to the manes of his friend, Patroclus:

All hail Patroclus! Let thy vengeful ghoſt
Hear and exult on Pluto's dreary coaſt.
Behold Achilles' promiſe fully paid,
Twelve Trojan heroes offer'd to thy ſhade.

ILIAD, b. xxiii. v. 220.

Death, indeed, or ſlavery, was the lot of captives of whatever rank or character. The ſovereign and the ſubject fell

undiſtinguiſhed by the conqueror's ſentence; even childen were murdered at the breaſt, and their little limbs ſcattered to feed the beaſts of the deſert, and the fowls of Heaven.

But even this was merciful when compared with the helpleſs fate of women. How dreadful the judgement pronounced on them! The moment they fell into the victor's hands, they were allotted, though of the higheſt diſtinction, to the vileſt menial offices, or were dragged to the loathed embraces, the deteſtable arms, of ſome blood-diſtained ruffian. How did the wretched Andromache ſuffer at the ſack of Troy! Andromache, the relict of the gallant Hector! Virgil, in his deſcription of her ſufferings, ſympathizes as he goes along, and his heart bleeds at every period that he turns. Savage brutality! More exceſſive than is to be found

in

in the wildeſt ſtate of unqualified barbariſm!

The cuſtoms, we muſt allow, at leaſt the inſtances we quote, were nearly eight hundred years antecedent to Socrates, the founder of moral philoſophy among the Greeks; and, therefore, they muſt be conſidered as tolerated only in the early ſtages of their government. Succeeding ages introduced different manners; never, it muſt be confeſſed, very refined, but ſuch, at leaſt, as ultimately aboliſhed the diſhonouring of women, and the diſfiguring the body of an enemy. They even permitted their enemies, in later times, to bury their dead; a ceremony they themſelves held in the moſt ſacred light.

Some ſpace, ſaid he, permit the war to breathe,
While we to flames our ſlaughter'd friends bequeath.
From the red field their ſcatter'd bodies bear,
And nigh the fleet a fun'ral ſtructure rear;

So decent urns their ſnowy bones may keep,
And pious children o'er their aſhes weep.

ILIAD, b. iii. v. 390.

So ſuperſtitiouſly did they adhere to this laſt attention, to thoſe whoſe lives were loſt in fighting for their country, that the ten Admirals of the Athenians, who gained the celebrated battle of Arginuſæ over the Lacedæmonians, were put to death for not gathering the bodies that floated on the waves, although it was demonſtrated they were prevented by a tempeſt, which endangered the whole fleet.

I ſhall now take my leave of the Greeks. It was an obſervation of Tully, "That moſt of the arts and inventions "which are neceſſary to the management "of human life, owed their original to "the Athenians." Tully, however, we have reaſon to ſuppoſe, was miſtaken. India, China, and Ægypt, were unqueſtionably in an earlier ſtate of knowledge

and

and improvement than the Greeks; and other nations, it is natural to ſuppoſe, may have preceded In ia, China, and Egypt. The art of writing we have already conſidered; and we have ventured an opinion, that Greece ſhould not in equity run away with the excluſive glory of that ſublime invention; but let the introduction of it be aſcribed to Cadmus: he was a likely perſon to give it entrance among the natives of that peninſula.

The noble art to Cadmus owes its riſe,
Of painting words, and ſpeaking to the eyes;
He firſt in wond'rous magic fetters bound
The airy voice, and ſtopp'd the flying ſound:
The various figures by his pencil wrought,
Gave colour, form, and body to the thought.

To conclude: the inconſiderable territory of which we have been treating, was certainly the nurſery of great and eminent ſtateſmen; of accompliſhed generals, and deep and ſubtle philoſophers; the unrivalled patroneſs, if not the parent, of

various arts and ſciences; but farther than this, candour forbids us to go. That ſhe was the ſource of knowledge cannot be admitted. Her claim to perfection in what ſhe undertook is indiſputable; and with this we will let her reſt: for to ſay that ſhe has not been equalled, would be erroneous. Experience, in a ſucceſſion of years, diffuſed ſuch light over the ancient, as it ſince hath over the modern world, that with a diſtinguiſhed, though not with a pre-eminent, rank among the kingdoms of the earth, ſhe and her admirers may certainly be ſatisfied.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT XCVI.

WE now come to the review of a people, who from a contemptible ſtate of poverty, and total neglect of every thing elegant and honourable in nature, in a very inconſiderable period of time, ſprang to be the uncontrolable rulers of the world. The Romans you will in courſe ſuppoſe I mean, for none but the Romans ever exhibited ſo extraordinary an inſtance of exaltation.

Whether Æneas was the founder of Rome, or whether Romulus, her firſt king, was the original promoter of a regular form of ſociety among the lawleſs banditti of which he was the head, is very immaterial. The origin of Rome,

like

like that of moſt other nations, is only to be gueſſed at; and it is impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, as in the ſingle computation of time, for a great number of years, they had no other mode of aſcertaining the termination of an annual period, than the high prieſt's driving a nail into a wall.

A great degree of reputation, in certain caſes, however merited, increaſes rather than diminiſhes with age. Men voluntarily throw their portion of applauſe into the general ſcale without examination; they read and they are told of mighty nations that have achieved wonders; they venerate the dead; great names they repeat with admiration too. The diſtorted features of the characters of thoſe who have gone before them, they allow quietly to repoſe in their grave. In a word, few take time to reflect on the foundation on which praiſe is erected, or

are

are ſo impartially diſcriminate, as to decide juſtly on the comparative merits of the paſt and the preſent.

I know full well the adventurous taſk which I am now about to undertake, and the violent prejudices which I ſhall have to encounter; but the dangers are not to be avoided. My journey lies through them all, and on I muſt go, whatever it may coſt me. We will not trouble ourſelves with inquiries into the firſt parts of the hiſtory of the Romans; it is uneſſential to our deſign. Romulus might have been the ſon of a god, and his nurſe might have been a ſhe wolf. Numa might have had his nymph Egeria, and a buckler, like that of Achilles, immediately from heaven. Prodigies, in ſhort, may have been ſeen in the air. Stones may have been cut with razors; and Veſtals may have dragged ſhips on ſhore with their teeth. All theſe are not without

the

the moſt poſitive ſanction of hiſtorical authority, and therefore to diſbelieve them would be uncharitable.

The Roman ſtory, however, coolly and diſpaſſionately conſidered, is not, perhaps, entitled to the greateſt portion of our reſpect, though it may be to that of our admiration. It exhibits a ſtriking picture, but much more dazzling than beautiful. In all her domeſtic regulations, ſhe was continually expoſed to convulſions and diſtraction; and in thoſe, in which ſhe ſtood relatively to other nations, her conduct was a mixture of pride, perfidy, and rapaciouſneſs. Never were there more notorious violaters of good faith, nor more inſatiable plunderers. Morality never ſtepped in with its benign influence to curb their licentious thirſt of dominion. The creed of their moſt virtuous patriots was, that univerſal ſove-

reignty

reignty was pre-ordained to the Roman State.

The infatuation of the Greeks with regard to their own importance, has already attracted our attention ; but vain as the Greeks were, they yet were leſs preſuming than the Romans ; and aſſuredly their pretenſions were more admiſſible. In architecture, ſculpture, painting, and muſic, they undoubtedly were eminent. The Romans, however, had nothing of this nature to boaſt. During the exiſtence of their Republic, a ſpace of almoſt eight hundred years, no proficiency was made in the arts and ſciences. Even ſo late as the time of Auguſtus, excepting Vitruvius, it has been remarked, that the only celebrated artiſts were Aſiatics or European Greeks. The Romans were, in fact, the pupils of the Greeks, not only in the polite arts, but in mathematics and philoſophy : they

indeed

indeed ruled the land, but the Greeks "preſerved a kind of ſovereignty over the "minds of their maſters."

When we reflect on the affectionate and ſteady predilection which every Roman had for his country, we cannot but admire his character; neither can we reaſonably refrain from applauding that wiſe uſage of the Roman government, which, by a religious anniverſary, kept alive the idea, coeval with its conſtitution, "that "its empire was deſtined to everlaſting "duration, and pre-ordained to be ex-"tended over the whole globe;" theſe are laudable prejudices; they give ſpirit and energy to a people; they are congenial to the ſoul of man. "We are born "upon this land," ſaid a Canadian chief, who was ſolicited to cede his patrimony by a nation of Chriſtians, "Our fathers "were buried here; can we ſay to our "fathers'

" fathers' bones, riſe up and come with
" us to a foreign land."

But the Roman, in proportion as he loved his native ſoil, was wanton in his deteſtation of all others who had a ſimilar affection to theirs. Hence the barbarous method of inſulting the calamities of the unfortunate in their triumphs. Even among themſelves, as if oppoſition alone was the prime ſource of ſanguinary deeds, they delighted in blood, and ſhewed themſelves unamiable and ferocious.

No friend, no fellow citizen I know,
Whom Cæſar's trumpet once proclaims a foe;
Bid me to ſtrike my deareſt brother dead,
To bring my aged father's hoary head,
Or ſtab the pregnant partner of my bed:
Tho' nature plead, and ſtop my trembling hand,
I ſwear to execute thy dread command.

ROWE'S LUCAN, lib. i.

So ſpoke a partizan of the conqueror of Pharſalia.

FRAGMENT XCVII.

IN the earlieſt dawn of life thoſe ſtrong impreſſions are given, which, generally ſpeaking, mark the tenor of our future days: as we expect to reap, ſo then ſhould we ſow. The mind, "as an unweeded "garden, runs to waſte," unleſs carefully watched, and ſkilfully pruned of its luxuriant imperfections. Senſible of this, the Romans adopted a mode of education never too much to be admired; it was calculated to form illuſtrious characters; it was meant, and it ſucceeded, to give philoſophers, orators, generals, and ſtateſmen to the world. "Can there," ſays Cicero, in the perſon of Cato, "be a "more important, or more honourable "occupation, than to inſtruct the riſing "gene-

" generation in every duty to which they
" may hereafter be called ?"

The firſt part of the Roman education was domeſtic: fathers, mothers, and preceptors, watched over the childiſh and boyiſh days. The ſcholaſtic and elementary cultivation of youth, was next intruſted to philoſophers and men of ſcience, while the laſt and moſt ſterling poliſh for the entrance to manhood, came from the hands of ſome character of eminence in the State. " Under the patro-
" nage of ſome illuſtrious perſon, the
" young men put themſelves; they
" waited upon him in his houſe; accom-
" panied him wherever he went; and
" equally improved by his inſtructions
" and example." This was ſurely a happy mode of diſcipline; it partook of every poſſible advantage, both ſpeculative and practical; it trained a child from his infant ſtate to the moment of putting on

the gown, and his becoming an actor for himself, with the proper instances of virtue and dignity before him; it, moreover, inspired him with courage to exert himself; for what incentive so strong as the example which courts and warrants emulation?

For a considerable length of time, the Romans were averse from studying the Greek or any other foreign language; they confined themselves entirely to the Latin; but not to that with any avidity or intenseness, saving a few contemplative men. Their thoughts were given to things, and not to words; they were moderate in their literary appetite, not chusing to partake of more than they could digest. At length, indeed, they gave into a taste for the Greek writers, and followed up the pursuit with perseverance. Even the rigid Cato, after several weighty struggles against the introduction of the Greek lan-

language and philoſophy into Rome, took to the ſtudy of it himſelf, in a very advanced age.

From an education ſo carefully attended to; from the ſimplicity of the laws, ſo very ſhort, that the repetition of them was the daily exerciſe of children; and from the intereſted concern which every one takes in a popular government, it is not to be wondered at that men ſhould in all graduatory ſteps to conſequence in ancient Rome, have manifeſted powerful inſtances of ability and judgement; and at length when they aroſe to places in the ſenate, that *that* aſſembly ſhould preſent the moſt auguſt and awful ſpectacle in the world. A council which preſided, as Cicero ſays, over the whole earth, and whoſe members had Kings, cities, and nations, under their particular patronage.

Time was when rev'rend years obſervance found,
And ſilver hairs with honour's meed were crown'd:
In thoſe goods days the venerable old
In Rome's ſage ſynod ſtood alone enroll'd;
Experienc'd Eld ſhe gave her laws to frame,
And from her ſeniors roſe the ſenate's name.

OVID.

The various offices of the Roman government from the dictatorſhip in the Patrician line, to the tribunitian in the Plebeian, are all ſo perfectly well known to modern times, that it would be unneceſſary to take notice of them here; but it is not ſo unneceſſary to remark, that in all republics, and in all popular governments, there is an occaſional, if not a permanent arbitrary authority veſted in the executive branches of them; an authority almoſt as deſpotic as in unlimited, and infinitely more ſo than in limited monarchies. Thus a conſul at Rome, when he had "adminiſtered the military "oath, and had proclaimed his levies, "became from that moment maſter of "the

" the public treaſury, and of the lives
" of thoſe who were under his command.
" The axe and the rod was no longer a
" mere badge of magiſtracy, or an empty
" pageant in the hands of the lictor. They
" were, at the command of the father,
" ſtained with the blood of his own chil-
" dren; and fell, without appeal, on the
" mutinous and diſobedient of every con-
" dition."

Nor in caſe of the abuſe of ſuch authority, were there thoſe means of obtaining redreſs, which one would ſuppoſe to be inſeparable from a ſtate of ſyſtematic freedom. Many inſtances are to be produced of the tyranny and rapacity of thoſe ſupreme magiſtrates, from the day of the expulſion of the Kings, to the day of the ſuppreſſion of the Republic. The provinces of the empire groaned under their yoke and under the yoke of their pro-

Conſuls; their tranſgreſſions cried aloud to heaven.

Livy tells us, that in the wane of the Republic, the elder Cato, in his cenſorſhip, accuſed Lucius Quintius of the following crime, a crime which, to the eternal diſgrace of the ſenate, was not exemplarily puniſhed. In his province of Gaul, Quintius had taken with him a boy of a good family of Carthage, of whom he was fond. This pathic, (for after the example of ancient philoſophers, as Cicero makes Cotta obſerve in his nature of the gods, the Romans delighted in boys) it ſeems, was deprived the ſatisfaction of being preſent at a gladiatorian ſhew at Rome by the Conſul, whom he often upbraided with ſo unlover-like a conduct. Sitting at table one day, and heated with wine, intelligence was brought to the Conſul, that a principal Boian and his family were come over to the Romans; he

he invited the Boian to a conference. The chief unſuſpecting, and full of ſecurity, appeared before the Conſul and converſed with him a conſiderable time. At length Quintius whiſpering his minion, aſked him if he would be ſatisfied for his former loſs by ſeeing the Gaul immediately expire? The boy replied in the affirmative; whereupon the Conſul of Rome, the firſt magiſtrate in the world, ſeized a ſword which hung over his head, ſtruck the poor Boian in the face, as he was reſpectfully delivering his ſentiments; and as he fled out of the room, imploring the faith of the Roman people, ſtabbed him to the heart.

Both high and low among the Romans were addicted to cruelty. From their very infancy they were accuſtomed to the ſight of wretches weltering in their blood. This, indeed, was a practice more baneful than all the fore-mentioned culture of

education could be beneficial. In the gymnaſtics and public games, which they borrowed from the Greeks, ſomething manly, active, and at the ſame time inoffenſive, was meant. But in the gladiatorian conflicts, thoſe horrible contentions, where unhappy beings were forced to deſtroy each other; or where man and beaſt were unfairly matched, what could ſuch ſights effect but the ſteeling of the heart, and the rendering it inſenſible to every feeling of humanity? And yet in ſpectacles like theſe the Romans principally delighted. They ſolicited murder for paſtime,

> He who, unmov'd, can hear the dying cry
> Of beaſts, may ſee unmov'd a brother die.

and they ſuffered for it in the end. How bloody the annals of Rome, as the Republican ſun declined! How numerous her ſlaughtered ſons! How dreadful the proſcriptions!

ſcriptions! Oh it was a period big with enormity and with the fouleſt deeds! Happy had it been for her had ſhe abſtained from the combats of gladiators as the Greeks did. "Throw down," cried an old Athenian philoſopher, (on a propoſal for their toleration) "firſt throw "down the altar erected by our anceſtors "above a thouſand years ago to Mercy, "and then introduce thoſe ſpectacles if "you pleaſe."

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT XCVIII.

BUT there were other conſiderations, and thoſe of a very weighty nature, which, in the midſt of bloodſhed, lulled the ſouls of the Romans in tranquillity. They were certainly a people indifferent about eternity.

> Dark and uncertain is man's fatal doom;
> If years, or only moments, are to come,
> All is but dying:——
> Sooner or late, all mortals know the grave;
> But to chuſe death, diſtinguiſhes the brave.
> 'Tis but to do, what is too ſure decreed,
> And where our fate would drag us on, to lead.
>
> ROWE'S LUCAN, lib. iv.

Thus they contented themſelves. Their ſuperſtition and habits of reaſoning led them to eſtabliſh the data, that on the diſſolution of thoſe ties of ſentiment and affection

affection which attach the mind to this world; or on the irreparable inroad of misery and misfortune, either of which prove existence to be a burden; death alone was the alternative, the resting place of nature. In consequence of this, they admired the man, who spurning at momentary pain, freed himself with dignity from the shackles of adversity and distress.

Not that they were universally of this way of thinking; many held it unwarrantable; especially those who embraced the opinions of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato. The practice of suicide was undoubtedly prevalent; but Virgil expressly says,

> The next in place, and punishment, are they,
> Who prodigally throw their lives away.
> Fools, who repining at their wretched state,
> And loathing anxious life, suborn'd their fate.
> With late repentance, now they would retrieve
> The bodies they forsook, and wish to live.

Their

Their pains and poverty desire to bear,
To view the light of heav'n, and breathe the vital air;
But fate forbids, the Stygian floods oppose,
And with nine circling streams the captive souls inclose.

DRYDEN, ÆN. b. vi. v. 585.

Virgil gives this as the Sybil's explanation to Æneas, on his descent into hell, of the punishment of a suicide; but the fact is, the ancients were very much divided on the subject of suicide. Many supported and practised it, whose wisdom and virtues we are taught to admire; others condemned it as cowardly, and displeasing to the gods.

As we have said, however, a certain contempt of life made the Romans superiour to the fear of death. Thus, we find, they frequently devoted themselves for the good of their country; the instances are frequent. The General rushed among the enemy, and by sacrificing his life,

insured

inſured as much as in him lay the victory to his troops; but I will not deprive them of the credit of herioſm and magnanimity in ſuch proofs of national attachment. The leaders who devoted themſelves, were deſervedly entitled to veneration. The cuſtom, indeed, ſeems inconſiſtent with the common propenſities of mankind; but as Bolingbroke ſays, in the early ages of the Athenian and Roman governments, when the credit of oracles, and all kind of ſuperſtitions prevailed; when heaven was piouſly thought to delight in blood, they who ſet ſuch examples as theſe, acted an heroical and a rational part. But, continues the ſame writer, if a General ſhould act the ſame part now, and, in order to ſecure his victory, get killed as faſt as he could, he might paſs for an hero; but I am ſure he muſt paſs for a madman.

A dif-

A diſbelief of an eternity, or a conviction that ſuicide was allowable, muſt, in many caſes, no doubt, have had conſiderable weight with the Romans in this act of devoting themſelves. Indiſcriminately, therefore, the patriotic martyrs are not alike entitled to admiration; but I know not if in all their ſtory, they have an inſtance, courageous as they were, of ſuch genuine and noble gallantry as was manifeſted in the conduct of a Swiſs officer, who, under the ſevere reſtraints of Chriſtianity, and impreſſed with the belief of an hereafter, glorioufly ſacrificed himſelf for the ſafety and preſervation of his country: they have none, I am certain, that ſurpaſs it. Arnold de Winkelried, at the battle of Sempach, ſeeing his fellow countrymen could not break through the Auſtrians, becauſe, being armed from head to foot, they had diſmounted, and forming a cloſe battalion, preſented a

front covered with iron, formed the generous design of devoting himself. "My "friends," said he to the Swiss, who began to be dispirited, "I am going, this "day, to give up my life to procure you "the victory: I only recommend to you "my family; follow me, and act in con- "sequence of what you see me do." At these words, he ranged them in the form of a triangle, and forming himself the point, marched to the center of the enemy. The shock broke the Austrians. The Swiss wedged themselves in, and finally discomfited them; but their hero fell. The first onset deprived him of the existence he had so noble devoted to the welfare of his country.

Unquestionably there was an enthusiasm and an intrepid military spirit in the Roman character; they felt for the honour and the glory of their country.

What Sarpedon ſays to Glaucus, each Roman felt, or, at leaſt, ſeemed to feel:

Could all our care elude the gloomy grave,
Which claims no leſs the fearful than the brave;
For luſt of fame, I ſhould not vainly dare,
In fighting fields, nor urge thy ſoul to war.
But ſince, alas! ignoble age muſt come,
Diſeaſe, and death's inexorable doom;
The life which others pay, let us beſtow,
And give to fame what we to nature owe;
Brave tho' we fall, and honour'd if we live,
Or let us glory gain, or glory give.

ILIAD, b. xii. v. 387.

But courage and reſolution were qualities never denied the Romans; their intrepidity was proverbial. The truth is, their hearts were too much hardened; they affected too greatly ſeverity of manners.

A Roman deſpiſed the man who could be ſedulouſly careful of the preſervation of

of his perſon. "To the gods," he would ſay, "that charge ſhould be confided;" but in proportion as he was thus regardleſs of himſelf, he was regardleſs of the feelings and ſafety of thoſe he had to deal with. "There is nothing that the lord may not "do to his ſlave," ſays Seneca, the father; "no torment but what may be inflicted "on him with impunity; nothing com-"mand him but what may be exacted with "the utmoſt rigor and ſeverity, ſo that "all manner of cruelty may be exerciſed "by the lords upon their ſlaves." Again, Caius, the lawyer, "It is allowed by all "nations to the lord, to have power of "life and death over his ſlave." And Cato the cenſor, that great, that reſpectable character, the divinity almoſt of the Romans! he, that very Cato, held it unwiſe to maintain ſlaves in their old age or infirmities, however ſerviceable they might previouſly have been. It is ſaid he

uſed to turn them naked out of doors, or let them ſtarve to death in his own family!

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT XCIX.

"IF the debtor be insolvent to several cre-
"ditors, let his body be cut in pieces on
"the third market day; it may be cut into
"more or fewer pieces with impunity; or
"if his creditors consent to it, let him be
"sold to foreigners beyond the Tiber."
In this cruel strain ran a law of the Decemvirs; nor was it to be otherwise than literally understood. How inhuman! But, as we have already said, the Romans too often shed unnecessary blood.

If among, each other, sanguinary practices were not only tolerated but prescribed, as in this instance by the laws, what can we suppose their conduct to have been to aliens, and to those in opposition to them? It was a mixture of cruelty

and avarice, the two moſt diabolical principles that ever actuated the breaſt of man. To an enemy they gave quarter, only to enſlave, or, perhaps, to murder:

Conſider well the captive's loſt eſtate,
Chains, racks, and croſſes for the vanquiſh'd wait:
My limbs are each allotted to its place,
And my pale head the roſtrum's height ſhall grace.
ROWE'S LUCAN, lib. vii.

An enemy, when diſarmed, was either killed, given away, or ſold to the beſt bidder. This is exemplified by Lucan, where we even find the treatment of Roman by Roman to be guided by no milder rule:

From me thy forfeit life, he ſaid, receive,
And, though unwilling, by my bounty live:
That all, by thy example taught, may know
How Cæſar's mercy treats a vanquiſh'd foe.
Still arm againſt me, keep thy hatred ſtill,
And if thou conquer'ſt, uſe thy conqueſt, kill.
Returns of love, or favour, ſeek I none,
Nor give thy life, to bargain for my own.
LUCAN, lib. ii.

Thus,

Thus, as an elegant moraliſt obſerves, the game of human life went upon a high ſtake among the Romans, and was played with a proportional zeal. Our manners are ſo different, continues Ferguſon, and the ſyſtem upon which we regulate our apprehenſion in many things, ſo oppoſite, that nothing leſs than the Greek and Roman literature could make us endure the practice of ancient nations.

The Romans, we may ſafely ſay, were born and educated warriors. Every citizen was a military man; he entered himſelf in the army, or in the militia, at an early period of life, and continued in it till he was fifty years of age, when he ceaſed to be conſidered as effective, if ſuch was his inclination. From this ſyſtem of univerſal military diſcipline, the whole empire may be ſuppoſed to have compoſed but one immenſe body of ſoldiers, ready to be detached to ſuch quar-

ters of the globe as intereſt might point out to them; and from this ſyſtem moſt certainly aroſe that exceſs of power and dominion which the Romans, at various epochs of their government, enjoyed without a rival.

What carnage and deſolation were the conſequence of Roman triumphs! How many thouſands, how many millions, were ſacrificed at ambition's ſhrine! It is a melancholy ſubject to dwell upon; and yet the god-like leaders of thoſe bands, as they were called, could talk of clemency and mercy. Was there a Sylla, a Cæſar, a Pompey, or an Auguſtus, but would affect commiſeration at the execution of a criminal? And yet was there one of them who did not help, in perſon, and with his followers, to drench and ſaturate the earth with blood? Is the murder of one individual an atrocious crime, and the murder of fifty thouſand

a praiſe-

a praiſe-worthy action? Inhuman ſophiſtry! The wretch who, driven by hard neceſſity to-day, and who robs his neighbour of a bare ſufficiency to ſupply his wants, is proſecuted and puniſhed as a monſter teeming with iniquity and guilt, while the ſplendid and exalted bare-faced villain tears from the helpleſs the means of ſubſiſtence; plunders and ravages nations and countries that never did him harm; fills up the ſcene with the butchery of the gallant ſouls who dared to withſtand his oppreſſion; and then has his poets and hiſtorians to ſing and record the glory and tranſcendant brilliancy of his career! Oh! it is a melancholy picture, and juſtly does old Homer ſay,

Curs'd is the man, and void of law and right,
Unworthy property, unworthy light,
Unfit for public rule, and private care,
That wretch, that monſter, who delights in war:
Whoſe luſt is murder, and whoſe horrid joy,
To tear his country, and his kind deſtroy!

ILIAD, b. xix. v. 87.

Ambition,

Ambition, indeed, under the diſcipline of reaſon, and the direction of juſtice, is a noble paſſion; but the ambition of a warrior, as it has been ſtrongly remarked, whoſe glory is meaſured only by the length of his ſword, is infernal; and every aſpirer after univerſal monarchy, from Alexander down to Louis XIV. is only a glorious murderer, an eminent robber, and a peſtilence in the human ſhape. Good heaven, what ſcenes were preſented during the civil wars at Rome! One's blood runs cold at the bare remembrance. I ſaw, recites the poet,

I ſaw where hapleſs Marius' brother ſtood,
With limbs all tore, and cover'd o'er with blood:
A thouſand gaping wounds increas'd his pain,
While weary life a paſſage ſought in vain.
That mercy ſtill his ruthleſs foes deny,
And whom they mean to kill, forbid to die.
This from the wriſt the ſuppliant hands divides,
That hews thes arm from off his naked ſides:
One crops his breathing noſtrils, one his ears,
While from the root his tongue another tears;
Panting awhile upon the earth it lies,
And with mute motion trembles e'er it dies.

Laſt

Laſt, from the ſacred caverns where they lay,
The bleeding orbs of ſight are rent away.
LUCAN, lib. ii.

What a bloody ſpectacle! And yet this was no leſs than the ſacrifice of the innocent brother of Caius Marius, by the ſanction and authority of Sylla!

Notwithſtanding, the ferocious character of the ancient Romans, and the particular inſtances which we have already quoted relative to debtors, it is yet certain, that their general laws were, of all others, the leaſt ſanguinary. Capital puniſhments were rarely admitted; baniſhment and confiſcation of goods being the ordinary puniſhment of the greateſt crimes. I ſpeak now of the latter days of the republic, for in the early ages, death was as frequently and as exceptionably inflicted as among other people. The Porcian law, indeed, in the four hundred and fifty-fourth year of

Rome,

Rome, carried the principle of lenity to a pernicious degree, for it prohibited the taking away the life of a citizen, without an appeal to the people; this was assuredly wrong. Capital punishments are unfortunately necessary in a well-regulated society; they must be recurred; to although scarcely any thing, it must be confessed, can authorize the destruction of mankind by the hand of man.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT C.

FROM the reflections which naturally ariſe from the preceding fragments, as well as from a common conſideration of the caſualties of life, it would ſeem that deſtruction was almoſt as eſſential as generation to the ſyſtem of the univerſe: were it not ſo, the world might be overſtocked, and a more dreadful ſeries of contention might be the conſequence. How various are the ways of quitting this exiſtence, while one, only one, is given us for admiſſion into it. As the fruit of a garden, we are fated to be the production of a parent ſtock, and as that fruit, we are liable to be ſcattered by the winds at pleaſure;—ſtill, however, we ſhoot up. The inſtinct of our ſpecies

prevents

prevents us from periſhing entirely. We do fall, and in abundance; but merely, it would appear, as if by death it were intended we ſhould quicken into life.

The havock of mankind in every diviſion of the globe has been aſtoniſhing. Tradition and hiſtory are ſcarcely filled with narratives of any other nature than thoſe of wars, and human deſolation. From the murder of Abel, to the moment at which I am writing, and, no doubt, *ad libitum*, mercileſs as the beaſts of the foreſts, though unimpelled by ſimilar neceſſities, we have been piouſly cutting each others throats; and weltering in blood, as if it were amuſing and grateful to our natures. This ſanguinary propenſity has, perhaps, decreaſed the population of the earth; at leaſt we have reaſon to conjecture ſo, for it is ſaid to be pretty accurately aſcertained, that not above

above a third part of the vaſt rotundity we tread upon is cultivated or inhabited.

Suppoſing, then, the calculation of political arithmeticians to be juſt, that the earth contains no more than a thouſand millions of inhabitants, it would follow, that the ſpace and the means which there are for the ſubſiſtence of two thouſand millions more, have been uſeleſsly created; a concluſion this not a little impious. It is probable, therefore, that the regions yet unexplored, may make up what appears to us a decreaſe of our ſpecies. Infinite Wiſdom always ſuits the means to the ends; "he fills, he bounds, "connects, and equals all."

The matter, however, is, that what we call the world, that is, the known parts of it, is ſuppoſed to contain two thirds leſs of inhabitants than it is capable of ſuſtaining; and that, from all accounts,

counts, it was even in the days of which we are ſpeaking, eighteen or nineteen centuries ago, infinitely more populous than it is now: the moderns have certainly played their parts in the ſlaughtering of each other; that they have exceeded the ancients can never be admitted. Let the preſent number, then, be as they may, and let their falling, as autumnal leaves, be lamentably deſcanted on, there yet, as I have ſaid before, is a generative inſtinct which introduces into this world eighty two thouſand beings, and that is pretty well, every four and twenty hours.

But to quit this digreſſion, the Greeks, it has been already noticed, borrowed their religious ideas from the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Thracians, &c. —— The Romans, again, borrowed from the Greeks; Polytheiſm was peculiarly adapted to the Roman character; the champions

pions and advocates, however, of ancient Rome, deny that either Rome or Greece admitted of a plurality of gods; they declare the reproach to be one of the greateſt errors into which the moderns have fallen. Thus, Voltaire ſays, "Let "any man ſhew me, in one word, from "whence it may reaſonably be inferred, "that they had more than one Supreme "God, and I will allow the cenſures to "be juſt: but if no ſuch fact, no ſuch "expreſſion can be found, and if, on the "contrary, they every where abound "with monuments and paſſages which "bear teſtimony to one Supreme God, "ſuperior to all the other gods, we are "bound to acknowledge that the judge-"ments paſſed on the ancients are as "raſh as thoſe we frequently paſs upon "our contemporaries."

But with deference to this celebrated writer, I cannot admit, that becauſe they

had one ſupreme, they yet had no other gods. His own words are repugnant to his poſition; he confeſſes that they every where abound with monuments and paſſages which bear teſtimony to a god ſuperior to all other gods; and has any more been inſiſted on? No man ever claſſed the divinities of the heathen mythology in an equal degree of rank and veneration. Jupiter, or whatever he was denominated, the father of gods and men, in every ſyſtem, held the pre-eminent ſituation. His providence was omnipotent; his fiat bound both heaven and hell; but was there not a regular gradation of divinities, or attributes, perhaps, of the firſt divinity which received adorations ſeparate and diſtinct? Had they not all their reſpective altars, their preſcribed forms of worſhip? The fact is beyond contradiction; a plurality of gods was unqueſtionably believed by Romans as well as Grecians.

In

In asserting this, I do not mean to advance it as an opinion, that the wise and the thinking part of the ancients gave into the mythological absurdities of which we read. On the contrary, many of the sages of those days had the most awful ideas of the all-bounteous Ruler of the world.

God, who the whole created mass inspires:
Through heav'n and earth, and oceans depth he throws
His influence round, and kindles as he goes.
Hence flocks, and herds, and men, and beasts, and fowls,
With breath are quicken'd, and attract their souls:
Hence take the forms his prescience did ordain,
And into him at length resolve again.

VIRGIL. GEORG. lib. vi. DRYDEN.

And again Horace:

That Power Supreme whom gods and men obey,
Who time commands, and rules the earth and sea;
Who claims o'er all the first and highest place,
Whom none is like, to whom none second is.

Lib. i. od. 12. CREECH.

These are great and respectable authorities; they present us with the opinions

entertained of a Supreme Divinity by thoſe two great poets, and, as it is probable, by the enlightened of every age; but they do not entirely ſet aſide the belief of a plurality of gods. On the contrary, Horace ſeems to admit of inferior deities, only that he ſubjects them to command; but Polybius is ſtill more decided on the ſubject. "The greateſt advantage," ſays this writer, "which the Roman govern-
"ment ſeems to have over the States, is
"the opinion publicly entertained by
"them about the gods; and that very
"thing which is ſo generally decried by
"other mortals, ſuſtained the republic of
"Rome, I mean ſuperſtition: for this
"was carried by them to ſuch a height,
"and introduced ſo effectually into the
"private lives of the citizens, and the
"public affairs of the city, that one
"cannot help being ſurpriſed at it. But
"I take it all to have been contrived
"for the ſake of the populace. For if a
"ſociety

" ſociety could be formed of wiſe men
" only, ſuch a ſcheme would not be ne-
" ceſſary; but ſince the multitude is al-
" ways giddy and agitated by illicit de-
" ſires, wild reſentments, and violent paſ-
" ſions, there was no way left of reſtrain-
" ing them but by the help of ſuch ſe-
" cret terrors and tragical fictions: it
" was not, therefore, without great pru-
" dence and foreſight, that the ancients
" took care to inſtil into them notions of
" the gods and infernal puniſhments."

After theſe, I think, any farther authorities to prove the exiſtence of Polytheiſm among the ancients would be ſuperfluous. But a plurality of gods is not all that ſhould be carried to their account; their whole ſyſtem of mythology was, in the general acceptation,—and this cannot be denied,—ſhamefully immoral and indecent. No debaucheries, no crimes, of which their deities were not guilty.

How like a reprobate is Jupiter depicted by the poets; into how many ſhapes did he transform himſelf to introduce ſorrow upon earth, and gratify his own libidinous deſires! The achievements of Jupiter, indeed, and of his convenient ſquire, the wily and deſigning Mercury, would diſgrace even the character of the moſt profligate of mortals.

But though ſome of the divinities of the Greeks and Romans were diſguſting, others were charming and captivating. Of theſe, in the firſt eſtimation, ſtood the graces, lovely diſpenſers of every thing ſmiling and agreeable in nature; they are deſcribed as giving to places, perſons, works, and to every thing in its kind, that finiſhing charm which crowns all its other perfections, and is, as it were, the flower of its excellence. No goddeſſes had ſo many adorers; all ranks, all profeſſions, and all ages, paid them homage.

homage. The arts and ſciences, in particular, acknowledged their unrivalled power: they were thought to confer grace, gaiety, equality of temper, liberality, eloquence, and wiſdom; but their moſt noble prerogative, and that the moſt truly divine, was their preſiding over kindneſs and gratitude.

FRAGMENT CI.

WE read of an Ethiopian nation, in former days, that had a dog for its King: that he was kept in great ſtate, ſurrounded with a numerous body of officers and guards, and in all reſpects royally treated. We likewiſe read that the Romans, the rulers of the world, had an anniverſary even to the days of the Emperors Nerva and Trajan, when it was the cuſtom to carry a gooſe in proceſſion, in a litter richly adorned, and at the ſame time a dog fixt to a gibbet.

Now which of theſe were the moſt ſuperſtitious, the barbarous Ethiopians, or the accompliſhed deſcendants of Romulus, is a queſtion which it is difficult to decide;

decide; each might have been grateful for benefits received. The dog, in the firſt inſtance, might, by barking opportunely, have given the alarm, and thereby have ſaved a capital; the latter, by cackling, might have rendered the ſame ſervice. How highly, therefore, are caution and cool diſcrimination neceſſary in the judgement to be formed of comparative merits!

I will not enter into an unprofitable maze of mythological diſquiſition; it is ſufficient for me to hint that the Romans were ſuperſtitious; that they believed in a plurality of gods; and that the Sybilline volumes were the great arcana of their religion. Volumes, indeed, which were not open to the eyes of the profane and vulgar, but which were inſpected ſolely by the elect, (no uncommon policy, as I have already remarked) and

to

to whoſe expoſition every thing was ſubmitted.

The miſt of error, however, was totally diſperſed from before the eyes of many of the moſt celebrated of the Romans; they even placed their hopes in an immortality of the ſoul. "The ſoul, "during her confinement within this "priſon of the body, is doomed, by fate, "to undergo a ſevere penance; for her "ſeat is in heaven. This opinion," continues Cicero, "I am induced to em-"brace, not only as agreeable to the beſt "deductions of reaſon, but in juſt de-"ference alſo to the authority of the "nobleſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed philoſo-"phers. Accordingly Pythagoras and "his followers firmly maintained that "the human ſoul is a detached part, or "emanation, from the great univerſal "ſoul of the world."

Can any doubt that God reſides in man,
That ſouls from heav'n deſcend, and when the chain
Of life is broke, return to heav'n again?
——— man's the image of the God.

MANIL. lib. iv. CREECH.

"In a word," concludes this eloquent and penetrating orator, "when I conſi-
"der the faculties with which the hu-
"man mind is endued; its amazing cele-
"rity; its wonderful power of recollect-
"ing paſt events, and ſagacity in diſcern-
"ing future; together with its number-
"leſs diſcoveries, I feel a conſcious con-
"viction that this active, comprehenſive
"principle cannot poſſibly be of mortal
"nature. There is a ſtrong preſumption
"that the ſoul poſſeſſed a conſiderable
"portion of knowledge before it entered
"into the human form, and that what
"ſeems to be received from inſtruction,
"is, in fact, no other than a remini-
"ſcence, or recollection of its former
"ideas. It does not ſeem to have been

"gene-

" generated, and therefore cannot be
" liable to diſſolution. Should it be ſup-
" poſed generated, it cannot be proved
" but that it is liable to corruption."

What exquiſitely clear and comprehenſive deductions. How forcibly does this reaſoning ruſh in and ſettle on the ſenſes! And yet Cicero was a Pagan; but Cicero was not ſingular in his ideas. The moſt enlightened of his countrymen advanced the ſame opinions; ſome of them even, like Moſes, revert to a creation, and ſhew that man was born to immortality.

A creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was man deſign'd:
Conſcious of thought, of more capacious breaſt,
For empire form'd, and fit to rule the reſt.
Whether with particles of heav'nly fire,
The God of nature did his ſoul inſpire;
Or earth, but new divided from the ſky,
And pliant ſtill retain'd th' ætherial energy.

OVID's MET. lib. i. DRYDEN.

Thus

Thus Ovid, as well as Cicero, Virgil, Horace, and various others, admitted the belief of an immortality; and what is ſtill more extraordinary, it was to the writings of theſe very authors, who were ignorant of Chriſtianity, that our Miltons and Popes, our metaphyſicians and divines, have ſeverally been indebted for many of their moſt beautiful, and moſt orthodox ideas.

The minds of theſe philoſophers and poets, unillumined by revelation, ſoared to a knowledge of the firſt principle of things. Burſting the fetters of ſuperſtition, they would wing their way into regions yet unknown: they reached the confines, indeed; farther it was denied them to go.

As when a wretch from thick polluted air,
Darkneſs and ſtench, and ſuffocating damps,
And dungeon horrors, by kind fate diſcharg'd,
Climbs ſome fair eminence, where ether pure
Surrounds him, and elyſian proſpects riſe,

His

His heart exults, his ſpirits caſt their load;
As if new born, he triumphs in the change:
So joys the ſoul, when from inglorious aims
And ſordid ſweets, from feculence and froth,
Of ties terreſtrial ſet at large, ſhe mounts
To reaſon's region, her own element,
Breathes hopes immortal, and affects the ſkies.

YOUNG'S FOURTH NIGHT, v. 563.

But, as I have already ſaid, the maſs of the people of Rome was not impreſſed with this idea of an immortality. Even ſome, who were by no means of the inferior claſs of reaſoners, as Plutarch obſerves, were in the dark; for "by what "means," ſays he, "the ſoul in another "life ſhall be affected with happineſs or "miſery, is totally concealed from hu"man penetration;" and perhaps their ignorance was happy for them; for the preſumption of a ſuperior degree of knowledge often begets fanaticiſm and intolerance; and it is to be proved, that no one inſtance of religious perſecution was known at Rome from the ſeven hundred fifty third year before Chriſt, when

it

it was founded, until the propogation of the Chriſtian faith in the time of Auguſtus, when diſputes commenced with the prieſts of the empire.

Nothing, indeed, can furniſh more poſitive proof of this, than the freedom with which the Romans delivered themſelves in public, and the great latitude they took in all their literary ſpeculations. Many of them were ſceptics, many of them unbelievers. In ſhort, they were in opinion, and in action, as relative to themſelves, what they thought proper. All that was required of them was conformity to the laws, and a reſpectful obſervance of the rituals of the eſtabliſhed faith.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CII.

So much morality, ſo much good ſenſe, and ſo much abſurdity as we have ſeen blended together in the religious character of the ancients, proves to us the inconſiſtency and the wretchedneſs of human nature. It is an uſeful leſſon, however; it ſhews us the "real eſtimate of "things which no man unaffected ever "ſaw;" it ſpeaks to the very ſoul; it bids us not be arrogant, but reſignedly to reconcile ourſelves to the conviction, that innumerable, though not blamable perhaps, have been, and ever muſt continue, the differences in the opinions and the manners of mankind.

It is ſomewhat curious, that the adorers of an adulterous Jupiter, of an unchaſte

Venus, of a thieving Mercury, and of other inferior and no leſs contemptible divinities, ſhould ſtill have poſſeſſed a perfect idea of honour and juſtice, of good and evil; but ſo it was. Thoſe univerſal principles of morality and benevolence which pervade the whole race of man, urged them to the deteſtation of thoſe crimes in each other, which preſcription tolerated in the inhabitants of the ſpheres. Vice, armed even with ſacred authority, as Rouſſeau obſerves, deſcended in vain on earth. The voice of nature, more powerful than that of the gods, made itſelf reſpected, and ſeemed to have baniſhed vice and flagitiouſneſs to heaven.

The Romans, indeed, as well as the Greeks, wiſely and carefully maintained the worſhip and religious ceremonies eſtabliſhed by law, at the ſame time that they gave the moſt unbounded liberty to

ſpeculative inquiries. A good citizen, they were convinced, would always reſpect the inſtitutions and obſervances of his anceſtors, though, as a philoſopher, he might ſmile at their ſuperſtition.

Hence Pliny, the elder, who denied the exiſtence of a God, unleſs it were the ſun, was never called to an account for his opinions; neither was Lucretius, although he went a ſtep farther, and denied every thing even to a Providence.

Cicero, however, who of all the Romans conſidered the ſubject of religion with the greateſt depth of thought, ſpeaks ſtrenuouſly in ſupport of the exiſtence of a one all powerful Ruler of the univerſe. He maintains, as his learned biographer Middleton obſerves, that there is one God, or Supreme Being, incorporeal, eternal, ſelf exiſtent: who created the world by his power, and ſuſtained it by

by his Providence; and this he inferred from the ſenſe of all nations; the order and beauty of the heavenly bodies; the evident marks of counſel, wiſdom, and a fitneſs to certain ends obſervable in the whole, and in every part of the viſible world; and declares that perſon unworthy of the name of man, who can believe all this to have been made by chance, when, with the utmoſt ſtretch of human wiſdom, we cannot penetrate the depth of that wiſdom which contrived it. "No-"thing more can be wanting," ſays he, "to make us acknowledge the exiſtence "of an eternal and all-perfect Being, "who merits the veneration of the hu-"man race."

Sublime ideas, ſuch as theſe, could have ſpread themſelves but an inconſiderable way. The groſſeſt imaginations were the lot of not only the multitude, but of the higher order of Romans. Who has

not read of their hook-noſed, flap-eared, beatle-browed, pink-eyed, jolt-headed gods! Yet even theſe could engender bigotry and ſuperſtition, convulſionaries, revealers, recluſe, penitents; in ſhort, viſionaries of every denomination! Nay, ſo great an effect had the force of the ſpirit on the diſordered intellects of enthuſiaſts, that Seneca ſays, they endeavoured to appeaſe the gods by methods which an enraged man would hardly have taken to revenge himſelf. Their penances were ſevere. "They beat, pinched, and "tore themſelves with invincible perſeve-"rance." Something, perhaps, like certain of their Chriſtian ſucceſſors, whom, we are told, on a certain day of lent, aſſembling, indiſcriminately, in the churches of the city, very deliberately armed themſelves with whips, cords, laſhes, and ſuch like offenſive weapons, and on the candles being put out, and the bells beginning to ring, ſtripping themſelves naked, moſt

piouſly

piouſly ſet to work upon their own ſhoulders, and did ſo flea them, that their groans were to be heard from one extremity of the town to the other.

In ſhort, ſays Seneca, "if there be "any gods who deſire to be worſhiped "after this manner, they do not deſerve "to be worſhipped at all, ſince the worſt "of tyrants, though they have ſome-"times torn a tortured people's limbs, "have never yet commanded men to tor-"ture themſelves.

FRAGMENT CIII.

THE mind, confident of its own powers, or at leaſt ſatisfied with the general operations of nature, without taking the pains to inquire how and whence they ariſe, is, in the known and regular courſe of things, reſigned and perfectly at reſt; but, in unexpected difficulties, or untoward accidents, when indeciſion or irreſolution takes the lead, it then becomes ſuddenly overwhelmed with perplexity. Doubt and anxiety give entrance to the moſt irrational conceits; the faculties ſtart from their natural tone, and then nothing ſo prepoſterous but what is appealed to and revered.

From

From circumſtances ſuch as theſe, the ſuperſtitious Romans, as well as all other ſuperſtitious people, have derived their divinations, their preſages, their lucky and unlucky days. To enumerate the various omens of the Romans, would be to fill a volume; I will confine myſelf, therefore, to the mentioning a few of the many, which they deemed of a baneful complection: the ſtarting of the eyes and eye brows of the left ſide, and the palpitation of the heart; the numbneſs of the little finger; or the ſtarting of the thumb of the left hand; the tingling of the ear; ſneezing in the morning, though in the evening it was nothing; for

She ſpoke: the god of love aloud
Sneez'd again, and all the croud
Of little loves, that waited by,
Bow'd, and bleſs'd the augury.

CATULL. CARM. 46. COWLEY.

The being overturned, or the falling of a ſtatue; the hitting your foot againſt the threſhold of the door going out; the breaking of the ſtrings of your ſhoes; being held by the robe when getting up; the meeting, in a morning, an Ethiopian, a dwarf, an eunuch, or a man deformed; each of theſe, however eager a man was in his purſuit, would be the cauſe of his returning home, and of his continuing in his houſe all day.

But beſides the exhauſtleſs fund of imbecility, which manifeſts the inconſiſtency of man, and which ſhews that the greateſt talents may be made ſubſervient to ſuperſtition, the Romans had their auſpices and auguries, both of them taken from external objects; and their aruſpices, the reſult of an inveſtigation of the animals to be ſacrificed; their entrails, and the flame, and ſmoke they ſhould occaſion. The character of an augur was of the higheſt

higheſt diſtinction; it was a prieſthood for life, and ſo ſacred in eſtimation, that no crime or forfeiture could efface it. Cicero was himſelf of the augural college, however he might have been heard to ſay in the words of Cato the cenſor, that "he could not conceive how it was poſ-"ſible for two augurs to meet and look "at one another without laughing." The authority of augurs was exceſſive; the ſenate could not aſſemble except in ſuch places as they had previouſly conſecrated. In the aſſemblies of the ſenate, or people, a bad omen declared by them was of itſelf ſufficient to diſſolve the meeting. In the election of magiſtrates they had the like control.

The various abuſes which ſuch an inſtitution introduced, muſt have been hurtful to the Roman ſtate; no ſet of men could have been found ſo diſintereſted, but that one or the other would deviate

a little

a little from the direct road to get rid of a queſtion unfavourable to his views, or to diſappoint ambition oppoſed to himſelf, his family, or his friends. The power was too great to be truſted in any hands whatever; it was allowable, as an inſtrument of government, a check being always neceſſary on the commonalty; but beyond that it could not have been otherwiſe than pernicious, as we inſtance indeed in various caſes; in that of Claudius Pulcher particularly, who, before an engagement, not being able to make the chickens eat, was in danger of loſing the day from ſo diſaſterous an omen. Nothing but coolneſs and preſence of mind could have reſcued him from this dilemma. Throwing the chickens into the ſea, "there," ſays he, "if ye wont eat, the gods will be "ſurely ſatisfied that ye drink." This happily animated his men; the alternative was a good one, it gained him the victory. "Shall I guide my mind," ſays

Hector

Hector to his brother Polydamas, on the latter's writing him to retreat, in conſequence of an ill omen, and for the truth of which he appealed to the augurs of the army:

——— ſhall I guide my wav'ring mind
By wand'ring birds that flit with ev'ry wind?
Ye vagrants of the ſky your wings extend,
Or where the ſun ariſe, or where deſcend;
To right or left, unheeded take your way,
While I the dictates of high heav'n obey.
Without a ſign, his ſword the brave man draws,
And aſks no omen but his country's cauſe.

ILIAD, b. xii. v. 277.

And yet theſe religious mummeries, properly managed, were undoubtedly to be turned to good account; men are either to be led or driven. Hence, notwithſtanding the abſurdity of preſages, omens, and all ſuch puerile conceits; to the influence of them in many inſtances, the Romans found themſelves indebted for glory and renown. If an unlucky appearance had the effect of cauſing deſpondency,

ſpondency, a lucky one had, on the contrary, the pervading energy of animating the faculties to a ſtate almoſt invincible. And as the generals and magiſtrates themſelves were the expounders, it is clear how dexterouſly they had it in their power to play a game in which their honour and reputation were engaged.

In fact, if we reflect on the foundation on which the Romans reared their grandeur, or rather on the means by which they rendered themſelves celebrated for fortitude, courage, and magnanimity, we ſhall find the whole to con-center in externals; auſpices, triumphs, trophies, crowns, ſtatues, and inſcriptions. The moſt virtuous minds are pleaſed at being noticed by their country; not a quarter of the good that has been ſeen among mankind would have exiſted, had it not been for the ſeducing ſenſe of praiſe; the laudable pride of acquiring and meriting

the

the approbation of the world; even imaginary rewards are flattering. The Roman, who doubted of an hereafter, was yet in rapture at the idea of funeral and monumental encomiums: he ſtudied, above all things, to be deſerving of poſthumous reputation; for to be placed, though in effigy, amongſt the ſtatues of his anceſtors, and there, when obſerved by his deſcendants, to be marked undeſerving, was a degradation and a diſhonour worſe than annihilation itſelf. "Let my "children look at the ſtatue of their fa-"ther, with love and veneration; let them "but have cauſe to emulate his actions, "and I am confident (an old Roman "would ſay) my days have not been "unworthily ſpent in the ſervice of my "country."

"Of all our connections," ſays Cicero, "none is more weighty, none is more "dear, than that between every indivi-

" dual and his country. What good " man would hesitate to die in her ser- " vice?" and with Cicero, so spoke the generality of his fellow citizens. As a people, it would be absurd to suppose that they were endowed with an unparallelled degree of instinctive courage and resolution. Other nations exhibited as gallant and as striking instances of heroism and intrepidity; but it was exercise and discipline which rendered the Romans so formidable. They were, moreover, constantly in the field, every new consul being desirous of signalizing himself by some military actions during his temporary sovereignty.

Courage, especially in war, we know to be artificial; and artificial bravery, so circumstanced, is unquestionably preferable to natural. Thus the veriest coward could be trained, by the Romans, to fight and signalize himself against the enemies of

of the State. It is, indeed, extraordinary, how eaſily we may be led or driven; we are poſitive machines, which, in ſpight of our will, are wrought into motion, and then we wonder at the novelty of our ſituation.

Natural valour, then, we muſt not ſuppoſe the Romans to have poſſeſſed in any ſuperior degree to their neighbours. Their diſcipline was every thing; and particularly that part of it which impoſed it as aduty on the ſubjects to defend their fellow citizens in their dangers, without regard to any friendſhip or engagements whatſoever. "In forty years that I have "ſerved," ſaid Siccius Dentatus, "I "have fought about an hundred and "twenty battles, and received forty "five wounds. The rewards beſtowed "upon me have been fourteen civic "crowns, by thoſe I have ſaved in "battle; one obſidional for having raiſed "a ſiege;

" a ſiege; three mural for having firſt
" mounted the enemies walls and taking
" poſſeſſion of them; and eight others
" for my behaviour in ſeveral battles.
" Add to theſe eighty golden collars, one
" hundred and ſixty bracelets of gold,
" eighteen pike ſtaves, and twenty five
" rich gorgets, nine of which are the re-
" wards of ſo many ſingle combats."

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CIV.

CHARACTERS ſuch as Siccius Dentatus did once exiſt in Rome; as did characters ſuch as Quintus Mucius, ſurnamed Scævola, whoſe conduct, while governor of the Aſiatic provinces, was ſo exemplary, that an anniverſary feſtival was inſtituted to commemorate the happineſs the people had enjoyed under his adminiſtration; but theſe noble inſtances of heroic reſolution, and uncommon equity and moderation, ſhewed themſelves only while the Republic continued healthy and in vigor. A different race of beings was afterwards produced.

Vain are their hopes, who fancy to inherit,
By trees of pedigree, or fame, or merit:
Tho' plodding heralds thro' each branch may trace
Old captains and dictators of their race;

While their ill lives that family belie,
And grieve the braſs which ſtands diſhonour'd by.

JUV. SAT. 8. STEPNY.

The once virtuous Romans, as the elegant Melmoth obſerves, ſinking into a race of abandoned voluptuaries, became at length the worthy ſlaves of the moſt execrable ſet of tyrants that ever diſgraced human nature:

Thoſe fatal ſeeds, luxurious vices ſow,
Which ever lay a mighty people low.
That age, by honeſt poverty adorn'd,
Which brought the manly Romans forth, is ſcorn'd:
Wherever ought pernicious does abound,
For luxury all lands are ranſack'd round,
And dear-bought deaths the ſinking State confound.

LUCAN, lib. i. ROWE.

Nay, to ſo intolerable a length had depravity aroſe during even the government of that inſinuating deſpot, Auguſtus, that to chaſtiſe a ſlave near his ſtatue or picture, was a capital crime; as it was to have ſtripped or changed one's dreſs near them;

them; or to have carried into a defiled place, a coin, or an engraved ſtone with his image on it.

I ſhall ſhortly have done with the Romans. We have viewed them in their public character; we ſhall now ſay a word or two on their domeſtic diſpoſition. No nation, if we believe their annaliſts, ever paid greater honour to the connubial ſtate, during, indeed, the exiſtence of the Republic. For the purpoſe of multiplying the children of the empire, they not only rewarded thoſe who married, but they levied heavy fines on thoſe who preferred a life of celibacy. It was the preſcribed queſtion of the cenſor to each citizen, on numbering the tribes, "Upon "your faith, have you a wife whereby "to have children?" He who had a barren wife, was obliged to repudiate her; thoſe who had none, paid a ſtipulated fine.

We have already ſeen the almoſt general diſlike of the ancients to intermarry with ſtrangers. Apprehenſion and pride were undoubtedly the ground-works of this repugnance. Women feared barbarity, or ſomething worſe, from huſbands, whoſe language and cuſtoms they did not underſtand. Men, on their ſide, diſliked taking to their arms the daughters of a people inferior to them in proweſs or antiquity; hence the averſion to foreign connections. The Romans were of this texture of mind; but pluming themſelves more extravagantly on their blood than almoſt any others, they forbade, under the ſevereſt penalties, marriages with ſtrangers; they declared them baneful to government. Thus when Anthony eſpouſed Cleopatra, he was execrated for it. That act, and the conſequences of it, injured his cauſe more than the addreſs, the riches, and the power of his enemies. It was flying in the face of the moſt obſtinately-

ſtinately-rooted prejudices of his countrymen; it was, moreover, an introduction of Polygamy, which was not admitted by the Romans.

But notwithſtanding the great eſtimation in which they held the inſtitution of matrimony, it ſeems to be generally allowed that no country ever exhibited more profligate or licentious amours, or more lewdneſs and infidelity. The age of the greateſt men, which was undoubtedly the Ciceronian, was the age of the greateſt depravity; male and female ſeemed to vie with each other in exceſſes of debauchery. It cannot be denied, I ſhould think, that their freedom of divorce was ſeductive and favourable to ſuch practices. Where the bond is ſo ſlender as to be eaſily broke, either by perverſeneſs, wantonneſs, or caprice, the comforts and the advantages of matrimony can never be expected.

So ſacred, and ſo wiſe an inſtitution, however irkſome to ſome, ſhould be as indiſſoluble as poſſible. Human nature ſhould not be left to itſelf; as each individual ſurrenders a portion of his liberty for the ſecurity extended to him by his country, ſo ſhould the ſubjects of the ſaffron-robed divinity be happy in the relinquiſhment of variety and unbridled gratification, for the ſolid and permanent delights of conjugal endearment. Bind the parties who marry with a light, but with an adamantine chain. The paſſion of deſire is too overbearing to be tolerated; nature muſt be curbed, or all runs to riot and confuſion.

But independent of the eaſe with which divorces were to be accompliſhed, and which was a moſt pernicious encouragement to diſſipation, and a taſte for novelty, there ſeems to have exiſted among the Romans an indelicacy which one would

would conceive repugnant to every feeling of ſentiment and affection. It was, in fact, in my mind, as abominable a proſtitution, as that we have ſeen to have been univerſal amongſt the Greeks in the inſtance of lending their wives; I mean the repudiating, and again marrying the ſame women. For, in reality, where is the difference between transferring a wife for a night, and, by repudiating, giving her to the arms of another for a year, and at the end of it receiving her again as the partner of one's boſom? This indelicacy was too groſs; it was ſubverſive of every thing tender and refined. But to inſtance it: Martia, the wife of the celebrated Cato, after bearing him three children, was, at her huſband's expreſs deſire, eſpouſed to his friend Hortenſius, who was without iſſue. Hortenſius ſometime afterwards died, and ſhe then married Cato a ſecond time.

This happened about the commencement of the civil wars between Cæſar and Pompey. Lucan mentions it,

In plain, unſolemn wiſe, his faith he plights.
She as ſhe was, in funeral attire,
With all the ſadneſs ſorrow could inſpire;
With eyes dejected, with a joyleſs face,
She met her huſband's like a ſoul's embrace.

LUCAN, lib. ii. ROWE.

The effects of a cuſtom like this, upon the manners of a people, muſt have been hurtful. When modeſty and a purity of thought are baniſhed from the ſociety of women, virtue and honourable principles quickly take their departure from the men; they bloſſom and flouriſh in the ſame community.

We have already remarked, that the education of the Romans was greatly to be extolled. It was a wiſe ſyſtem, calculated for the forming of generals, ſtateſmen, and ſoldiers; and it was eſſen-

tial

tial that it ſhould be ſo, as Old Rome admitted of no hereditary honours. No man, however nobly born, could arrive at any dignity, who did not acquire it by perſonal merit; the grandeur of a family was its virtue; the extinction of the one was the extinction of the other.

I now come to a cloſe of our review of the Romans: a vaſt variety of points, as you will obſerve, have been purpoſely omitted. I was apprehenſive that the inveſtigation might be tedious and diſguſting. Every one knows the Roman ſtory; it has employed the ableſt pens. I now, therefore, ſhall conclude. For a few centuries, the Romans undoubtedly ſhewed themſelves a mighty and an invincible power; they carried their dominion as far almoſt as they conceived the world to be habitable; they were, in fact, maſters of the univerſe. If we credit hiſtory, their ſovereignty was exer-

ciſed

ciſed with a lenient hand; they inſiſted, indeed, on a pre-ordination to univerſal empire, but their ſubjects and dependents they admitted to be entitled to kindneſs and good offices. In the early ages of the Republic, there was an infinite ſimplicity in the Roman character. Towards the decline of it, an unhappy change univerſally took place; and ſuch change was inevitable.

While their empire was circumſcribed within tolerable limits, the laws of their government were adequate to the control of the people; but when extenſive and moſt brilliant, though ſanguinary conqueſts, had ſcarcely left them a nation to ſubdue, the unlimited powers, the plunder, and the riches of the magiſtrates of the provinces, ſhook the whole fabric to its foundation, and gave an entrance to faction, diſcord, and deſtruction. Conſuls, pro-conſuls, prætors, in ſhort, offi-

cers

cers of every denomination, aſpired to independency. The ſword of juſtice was ſtained with the blood of barbarous proſcription; all went to ruin. In a word, they erected their houſe of dominion on the ſand, "and the rain deſcended, "and the floods came, and the winds "blew and beat upon the houſe, and it "fell, and great was the fall of this "mighty building."

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CV.

WE are now arrived at the laſt ſtage of our inquiries. Thoſe we have already made, have been reſpecting countries diſtinct and unconnected with us. We have been free, but we have endeavoured to be candid. Manners and cuſtoms, are to be praiſed or condemned, as they ſtand in the unalterable and univerſal ſcale of reaſon, humanity, and innocence; and not as they are conſonant or repugnant to the peculiar opinions of thoſe who decide on them. People are as various in their acts and diſpoſitions, as countries in their climates and ſituations. Juſtice, therefore, is indiſcriminately due to all; nor are modes of former ages to be haſtily condemned (what we have condemned, we think we have had reaſon for) although a little ſelf-

com-

complacency is never wanting to keep us in a ſuperior degree of good humour with thoſe to whom we are ourſelves accuſtomed. I will bid adieu, therefore, to the ancients, with Horace's adieu to the elders of his day:

——————— fairly make your will:
You've play'd, and lov'd, and eat, and drank your fill:
Walk ſober off: before a ſprightlier age
Comes tottering on, and ſhoves you from the ſtage.
Leave ſuch to trifle, with more grace and eaſe,
Whom folly pleaſes, and whoſe follies pleaſe.

HOR. lib. ii. ep. 2. POPE.

And now for the examination of what, from adoption, I hope I may be allowed to call our own domeſtic ſoil. Modern Europe is the field we have to range in. It abounds with materials, and it is fair they ſhould be uſed. In the courſe of our journey, from the cold regions of the north, to the very ſpot where we are arrived, it has not once appeared that there is that prodigious difference in the conſtitutions,

tutions, diſpoſitions, and natural endowments of the human race, which one would at firſt be inclined to ſuppoſe. We all, it ſhould ſeem, tread nearly in the ſame beaten track. We emerge from barbariſm to civilization, in much the ſame way; and when we get there, we exhibit nearly, if not in every reſpect, a ſimilar character and appearance. Cultivation then, of courſe, is all that is required.

Were we enabled to treat of the children of Mercury and Saturn, where heat and cold muſt occaſion eternal fluidity or condenſation, we ſhould have a taſk of variety aſſigned to us; but, in this earth of ours, where all are created alike, and where diverſity is occaſioned by culture, and by culture only, the catalogue of our inſtincts and our propenſities is ſo undiſtinguiſhably the ſame, that as we judge of an individual, ſo we may judge of the ability of a nation, by knowing its age in

ſociety,

ſociety, or in other words, its progreſs in civilization.

Mutilated as the records are, which we have referred to in the preceding fragments, and diſtorted and exaggerated as are the accounts, they yet have perhaps a preferable degree of authority to the hiſtorical details compoſed by the firſt Chriſtian annaliſts, and continued by their ſucceſſors. The arbitrary diſcipline of the church of Rome, aided by Anathemas, excommunications, and finally by the horrors of an inquiſition, ſtruck effectually at the root of truth when Chriſtian practices were to be developed. The terrors of the hierarchy impreſſed all Catholic writers with apprehenſion and timidity. They were afraid to ſpeak out. Exemplary puniſhment impended over free and liberal diſcuſſion —And this being the caſe, prudence requires that we paſs over the firſt ages of the church.

Rome,

Rome, which we left miſtreſs of the world, divided herſelf into an eaſtern and weſtern empire, about the year of Chriſt 364. It was then ſhe ſhewed herſelf in the moſt frightful colours. Conſpiracies, treaſons, murders, and every ſpecies of cruelty, were felt in the remoteſt corners of her dominions. Never did there flow a more plenteous ſtream of the blood of man. It was indeed a woeful ſpectacle. Maſſacres and tortures were conſidered as paſtime. Superſtition and fanaticiſm gave them birth, and nouriſhed them with a fondneſs, deteſtable as it was helliſh. But this was more particularly conſpicuous in the eaſtern than in the weſtern diviſion of the empire. The latter was ſtill regulated with a tenderneſs and attention, which afforded ſome little reſpite to the miſerable and wretched.

The fourth and the fifth centuries of the Chriſtian æra exhibited at length the

downfall of the Roman greatneſs. Ruthleſs ſons of rapine, engendered in the north, burſt from their hives, and covered the whole face of Italy. Bearing all before them like a mighty torrent, they penetrated to the extremity of Calabria. There they ſtopped, recoiled, and ſcattering themſelves abroad, divided out that empire, which they had effectually annihilated. Goths, Huns, Vandals, Scythians, Tartars, or whatever you pleaſe to call them, thus beat down the monarchy that had uſurped the ſupremacy of the world.

From this period to the ninth century, all Europe was a ſcene of confuſion and diſorder. It was doomed to a conſtant influx of barbarians, who were deſtitute of genius, literature, and every virtue but that of valour. Beſides which, the Mohammedans and Infidels had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Spain. Ignorance had uſurped the ſeat of learning and philo-

ſophy. The little knowledge that remained, was confined to the cells of the recluſe. Nobles of the firſt conſideration were unacquainted with the rudiments of ſcience. Even ſovereigns were unable to write their names.

In ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, almoſt all ſorts of enormities may be ſuppoſed to have exiſted. We accordingly find, that there was no ſafety or protection for the lower orders of the people. Chieftains and Barons, with a paramount authority, lorded it with the hand of oppreſſion. Plunder and robbery were their amuſements. The traveller and the merchant who fell into their hands were mercileſſly rifled. Thoſe who ſhould have been the pillars of the ſtate, in a word, were the abettors of every thing hurtful and pernicious; and their moated and gloomy retirements, the receptacles of diſhonourable booty.

The

The prevalency of abuſes ſo very injurious to the peace and welfare of the community, at length occaſioned a combination among certain of the nobles, for their abſolute ſuppreſſion, and for the effectual relief of ſuch unfortunate women as had been, or ſhould be forcibly carried off by thoſe profligate diſturbers of the general repoſe. To the obſervance of this agreement the aſſociators ſolemnly bound themſelves by oath; and here we may date the origin of knight errantry. For

> Nought is there under heaven's wide hollowneſs
> That moves more dear compaſſion of mind,
> Than beauty brought t' unworthy wretchedneſs,
> Through envy's ſnares, or fortune's freaks unkind.
>
> FAIRY QUEEN.

About the middle of the ninth century the ſchiſm in the Chriſtian church took place, which eſtabliſhed the difference of tenets and ceremonial in the Greek and Latin ritual. But long before this, the Italian, or weſtern empire of the Romans,

had ceaſed to exiſt. In the year of Chriſt 476, it fell; and on its ruins aroſe a variety of ſtates. The eaſtern continued until the year 1453, when Conſtantinople was ſacked by the Mohammedans under Mahomet II. During the exiſtence, however, of the empire of the Romans, but while it was perceptibly falling into decay, the foundations were laid of thoſe ſeveral independent kingdoms which are at this day obſervable in Europe.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CVI.

IN hiſtory, trifling errors may eaſily be accounted for; but, with reſpect to thoſe of magnitude and importance, we are led by conjecture, and conjecture only, to attribute them either to deſign or inattention. Thus, one or the other of theſe cauſes was aſſuredly the occaſion, why conſiderably more than a thouſand years had elapſed, from the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, before the preciſe time of the birth of our Saviour was aſcertained. Abbé Denis the Little of France, firſt calculated this awful epocha, in the year 532. But he was miſtaken in his data. He led, however, Europe for a while. Other calculators then preſented themſelves; all poſitive, but all differing. It

was not, in ſhort, until the year 748,—and after upwards of an hundred authors had advanced contrary opinions upon the ſubject, that the computation of time from the birth of Chriſt began to be uſed in hiſtory.

This appearance of the Meſſiah upon earth, his circumciſion and interment, are great and momentous æras in the annals of modern Europe. It has already been obſerved, that the firſt cruſade to the Holy Land began in the year of Chriſt 1096. The madneſs of theſe conteſts, in which lives innumerable were loſt, was ſcarcely at an end, when a more daſtardly phrenzy ſeized upon the profeſſors of Chriſtianity. This was the deſtruction of the Jews. Mohammedans they put to death, for poſſeſſing themſelves of the ſacred ſepulchre: Iſraelites they empaled, becauſe their fathers had been the perſecutors of the Son of God. In no country

did

did ever any thing ſo barbarous appear. All Germany ſtreamed with blood. Bavaria alone offered up twelve thouſand unhappy wretches. But, the taking of Jeruſalem in 1099, exhibited the moſt dreadful ſpectacle. Every creature in it was put to the ſword; neither age nor ſex met with commiſeration. The ſoldiery, as they ſtiled themſelves, of Jeſus Chriſt, butchered, without mercy, even infants clinging to the breaſt. Hapleſs mothers were forced to behold their children daſhed againſt the ſtones. No pity was ſhewn; all was indiſcriminate murder and deſtruction. And yet, theſe triumphant warriors, as it has been feelingly remarked, glutted with ſlaughter, would throw aſide their arms ſtreaming with blood, and approaching with naked feet and bended knee to the ſepulchre of the prince of peace, would ſing anthems to that Redeemer, who had purchaſed their ſalvation by his death; and while dead to the calamities

of their fellow creatures, would diſſolve in tears for the ſufferings of the Meſſiah.

The land of Judea, which was the theatre of many of theſe atrocious acts, and which, by the cruſades, as well as by the wars of the Iſraelites themſelves, was fated to every public calamity, is of inconſiderable extent. It is not more than one hundred and fifty miles in length, and not above eighty in breadth. Paleſtine and Phænicia are diſtinct countries. Paleſtine, indeed, was alſo inhabited by Jews. This, however, is of no conſequence. Excepting what we can gather from ſacred writ, (the hiſtories of other civilized people being ſilent on the ſubject) and what we can ſelect from the effuſions of Joſephus's imagination, there is nothing that can lead us to a knowledge of this nation. Moſt marvellous things are told of them it is certain: yet their country was but ſmall; and their diviſions,

ſions and ſub-diviſions into kingdoms, could ſurely be neither conducive to proweſs or good government. Joſhua defeated thirty-one of their ſovereigns. Adoni-zedeck, who ruled a little after him at Jeruſalem, confeſſes the deſtruction of threeſcore and ten. Now, may it not be aſked, what could the extent, or what could the conſideration of the dominions of ſuch potentates be? But the ground we tread upon is hallowed. We muſt be guarded.

The face of both Paleſtine and Judea is rocky and barren. It appears as if it never could have admitted of extraordinary cultivation: on the contrary, it bears evident marks of having been viſited by earthquakes and ſuch like diſaſters. But, notwithſtanding this, both Paleſtine and Judea have each of them been bleſſed with peculiar inſtances of the divine favour. They have ever been a ſacred and a holy land, however

ſhort-

ſhort-ſighted and ungrateful their inhabitants. Certain ſoils are favourable to certain religious ſuperſtitions. We have already remarked this. Nor can any one of them be more aptly inſtanced than that of which we are now treating. But it is not my buſineſs, nor indeed would it be proper for me to uſe too great a freedom with the Jews. Their own ſtory ſpeaks with a multitude of tongues; I wiſh here only to take notice of an obſervation of Mr. Maundrele, who travelled through the Holy Land not many years ago. "It is "ſomewhat remarkable," ſays this gen- "tleman, that almoſt every thing repre- "ſented to be done in the goſpel, is ſaid "by the people, who ſhew the places, to "be done in caves. Thus, the birth of "the Virgin Mary, of the annunciation, "of Mary's ſalutation to Elizabeth, of "the nativity of Chriſt, and John the "Baptiſt, the transfiguration, St. Peter's "re-

ſhort-

" repentance, all were tranſacted, by their
" account, under ground."

In the midſt of all the horrors of intolerance, in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, we have examples of ſteadineſs and reſolution which cannot fail to affect our minds with an unbounded degree of admiration. Women, as well as men, were ſeen to riſe beyond the ſuppoſed ſtrength of nature and humanity. What ſo great as the conduct of the conſort of St. Louis of France? Attendant on her huſband in the Holy Land, and cloſely beſieged in a fortreſs, not conceived tenable, ſhe conjured the Sieur Joinville, as he revered that chivalry which he profeſſed, and even bound him by an oath, inſtantly to put her to death ſhould the place be ſurrendered, and her honour and reputation be endangered. Happily, the Sieur Joinville had no occaſion to carry his promiſe into execution.

Could

Could any thing be nobler than this pre-determined dignity and courage? Lucretia, indeed, we read a great deal of; and her doom, ill-fated maiden, was a dreadful one. But, in defpight of all the commiferating pages which have been dedicated to her virtue and her memory, and notwithftanding all her defervedly-celebrated fortitude of mind, the impulfe of paffion and grief which inftantaneoufly hurried her to the bloody tragedy fhe acted, was not furely fuperior, if it can even be admitted to have been equal, to the calm and deliberate fpirit and purity of the wife of Louis.

But the intrepidity of the nuns of Acra was ftill more heroic. Thefe unfortunate young women, of the firft families among the Chriftians, were here fecluded in peace and tranquillity. But the turks coming before the place, befieged it with fuch vigour and fuccefs, that it was carried by ftorm

ſtorm in the year 1291. The Abbeſs of the convent, as their hiſtorian ſays, dreading leſt ſhe and her nuns ſhould be treated as is uſual in ſuch caſes, aſſembled them, and exhorting them to mangle their faces, as the only means of preſerving their virginity, inſtantly, with an heroic courage, ſet them the example, which the nuns boldly followed, by cutting off their noſes, and disfiguring their faces in ſuch a manner, as rendered them more adapted to excite horror than deſire. Hence the ſoldiers, ſoon after breaking into the convent, were ſo diſappointed at ſeeing, inſtead of a number of blooming beauties, ſuch diſmal objects, that they cruelly put them to the ſword.

Fierce as the ſtruggle was between the Chriſtians and the Mohammedans for this inſignificant ſpot of land, and ruinous as the expence of blood and treaſure was to the reſpective ſects, it was not till ſome

ages

ages had rolled over their heads, that it appeared eligible to desist from the crusades. The Christians were sovereigns of Jerusalem for no longer a period than eighty-eight years, during which time, nine kings were elevated to the throne. It was taken from the Sultan of Egypt in the year of Christ 1099, and was retaken by Saladin, Sultan of Syria, in 1187.

Of all the extraordinary instances of fanaticism, produced in the days of which we are speaking, none was so diabolical in its nature, as the society of the Old Man of the Mountain. Ingenious men have traced the progress of those infernals in human shape, from the sect of the Mohammedan Carmathians in Persia, to their settlement in Syria, and the mountains of Lebanon. The head of these murderers was considered by his subjects as invested with the will and omnipotence of God. They desired no other sanction for

the

the perpetration of the moſt atrocious deeds, than his all-powerful word. The *fiat* given, and they ſcattered themſelves to the remoteſt corners of the earth. Bending their manners, and even the externals of their religion, to their bloody purpoſes. They aſſumed every ſhape—they ſtabbed under every diſguiſe.

The Sheick, or as we beſt know him by the name of the Old Man of the Mountain, kept his reſidence on the mountain of Lebanon. His territory extended from the borders of Antioch to Damaſcus. The founder of his tribe, was a Mohammedan by birth—But his creed was a compound of mere mortal fabrication; it was a tiſſue the moſt heterogeneous and abſurd. It made him, however, more abſolute than the favourite of Allah himſelf. Mohammed never held the ſouls of his followers in ſuch poſitive captivity. The duration of this people, the ſcourges of

the

the earth as they were denominated, was conſiderable. They at length received a blow from the Mongul Tartars, in the 655th of the Heigira, or 1254th of Chriſt, and were finally cruſhed by the Egyptians in 1272.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CVII.

FROM among the enthuſiaſts who viſited the Holy Land during the cruſades, or from among thoſe who were devoted to that promiſed ſoil, ſprang the three famous orders of religious knighthood, the Templars, Hoſpitallers, and Teutonics. Thoſe of the original inſtitution of Templars, are ſaid to have been Monks, who, on the taking of Jeruſalem, dedicated themſelves as reſidentiary defenders of the Holy Sepulchre, and as the protectors of Chriſtians of every denomination. The Knights Templars were the firſt of theſe orders, and they were inſtituted in the year 1118; the others were conſiderably later.

Europe, as we have already noticed, continued for many centuries after the fall of the Roman empire, in the groſſeſt uncultivation and rudeneſs. No ſuch thing as polity or government was to be met with; all was anarchy; each man revenged his quarrels himſelf; Barons fought with Barons; and, aided by their vaſſals, waged formidable war. In ſhort, nothing could ſurpaſs the lawleſs conduct of the nobles, or the barbarous vaſſalage of the people. Maximilian I. at length gave "the conſtitution of public and "perpetual peace," at the Diet of Worms, in 1495; and he was the firſt who enabled the Germans (the greateſt of the nations of Europe, and the ſucceſſors, according to their own account, of the empire of the Cæſars) to look upon themſelves as a civilized people.

But here I am obliged to go back, and from neceſſity, for it is with a melan-

choly

choly heart I do it, am compelled to touch upon a ſubject the moſt horrible of any that hath come before us, or that ever was conceived by the mind of man; I mean the Inquiſition. This terrible court, erected on the fouleſt and moſt impious foundation, and teeming with helliſh and damnable perſecution, was inſtituted in the year of the Saviour of mankind, 1204, on account of ſome tumults occaſioned by the Albigenſes. It was the firſt inſtitution which gave a mortal wound to the privileges of humanity, and to all the affections of our nature. The ſon here accuſed his father; the father informed againſt his children; the wife arraigned her huſband; and thus ruin triumphed through a bigoted and miſtaken zeal. What ſpecies of information was not received and admitted? A ſimple ſuppoſition was ſufficient to occaſion the impriſonment of the helpleſs and innocent; the accuſer was not con-

fronted with the accuſed; nor, though falſe in his accuſation, had he any thing to fear, for he was concealed under a cloud of eternal oblivion. Even flight, the ſole refuge of the perſecuted, was deemed declaratory of guilt. Anathemas followed the devoted while ſeeking refuge from the ſtorm. Excommunication rendered them the outcaſts of ſociety.—Hence friends were loſt to friends; ſons were loſt to fathers; huſbands were loſt to wives. In a word, the hand that would plunge a dagger into the hearts of ſuch branded wretches as fell under the laſh of the Inquiſition, was the child of grace, the favoured child of that merciful Father who is in heaven.

But let not aſſertion be the ſole proof of the barbarous inhumanity of the Inquiſition. Let the words of the manifeſto publiſhed by the States of the Netherlands in 1566, ſpeak what it

was, even ſo late as the ſixteenth century. "A tribunal," recites the manifeſto, "which is not only contrary to all hu-"man and divine laws, but which ex-"ceeds in cruelty the moſt barbarous in-"ſtitutions of the moſt ſavage tyrants in "the heathen world; which reduces all "men to a ſtate of miſerable ſlavery, and "expoſes the beſt to continual apprehen-"ſion; ſo that if a prieſt, or wicked "minion of power ſhall incline, he may "accuſe any man, however innocent, "and cauſe him to be impriſoned, con-"demned, and put to death, without be-"ing confronted with his accuſers, and "without being allowed to bring evidence "of his innocence, or to ſpeak in his "defence."

O man! thou art ſurely the greateſt curſe, as thou unqueſtionably art the greateſt bleſſing to man. Not all the calamities which have afflicted the world,

taken collectively, can equal the deſtruction occaſioned by their own means. —Plague, peſtilence, and famine, are trifles to theſe; thou art the hydra of deſolation. Mademoiſelle d'Aunois, in her memoirs of the court of Spain, ſays, "Among the Jews that were burnt at an "auto de fé, or an act of faith, there "was a girl, ſeemingly not ſeventeen "years of age, who ſtanding on that "ſide where the Queen was, petitioned "her for pardon." She was wonderfully pretty, and ſhe ſaid to her, "Great "Queen, will not your royal preſence "make ſome alteration in my misfor-"tunes? Conſider how young I am, "and that I am to ſuffer for a religion "which I have been cheriſhed in from "my birth!

——— here the ſwelling ſigh,
And pearly tear-drop ruſhing in her eye,
As morning dew hangs trembling on the roſe,
Though fond to ſpeak, her farther ſpeech oppoſe.

LUSIAD, p. 60.

"The

"The Queen turned away her eyes and "ſeemed to be moved with pity towards "her; yet ſhe could not, ſhe dared not "ſo much as mention the ſaving her." What a ſpectacle for ſovereigns to be preſent at! What a tragedy for the firſt nobility to take part in! No man in thoſe days, Spain not excluſively, thought it beneath him to aſſiſt as an executioner. Wriothefley, the High Chancellor of England, we are told, directed a young and beautiful woman to be ſtretched on the rack, becauſe ſhe differed with him on the real preſence. With his own arm he tore her body aſunder, and then cauſed her limbs to be committed to the flames:

——— O man, proud man,
Dreſt in a little brief authority,
(Moſt ignorant of what he's moſt aſſur'd,)
Plays ſuch fantaſtic tricks before high heav'n,
As make the angels weep.

SHAKESPEARE.

In the reign of the Emperor Charles V. upwards of fifty thouſand of his ſubjects

were put to death on account of their religious principles. Philip II. his ſon, more intolerant than his father, ordained, that whoever taught heretical doctrines ſhould, if men, be put to death by the ſword; if women, be buried alive. But their more execrable repreſentative and General, Alva, going beyond them both, boaſted, that during his five years adminiſtration in the Low Countries, he had cauſed more than eighteen thouſand Proteſtants to be publicly executed.

The Inquiſition, however, and the barbarous perſecution of the Jews, did not appear in every country alike. England, for inſtance, although ſhe had a High Court, and a Star Chamber, had not an Inquiſition. In France, it had very little to do after the hereſy of the Albigenſes was extinguiſhed, until the Reformation. Then it blazed abroad afreſh, and continued with accumulating vigour, until the

year

year 1645, when the never-to-be-forgotten Charles de Montchal, archbiſhop of Thouloufe, had the virtue and the hardineſs to attack and cruſh it, by an arret of the king. And this too, where it was moſt ſtrongly intrenched, in his own dioceſe, where it had originated. The ſame bleſſed extinction befel it in other diviſions of Europe. But the evil is not entirely eradicated. Spain and Portugal ſtill continue to bend their necks to the barbarous impoſition. The latter, indeed, had aboliſhed it; but it has again, as a pent-up volcano, burſt into a flame. O that with an angel's voice, I could thunder in the ears of thoſe infatuated children of perverted Chriſtianity—" Refrain from religious " perſecution! Reflect you not on the " enormity of ſuch tranſgreſſion? Your " God ſpake to you—be tolerant and cha- " ritably minded. Why will you not " tread in the ſteps of kindneſs and hu- " manity? And you, ye prieſts,"

—— Ye

——————Ye rev'rend fathers,
Whoſe beards the ſilver hand of time has touch'd,
Whoſe learning, and good letters, peace has tutor'd,
Whoſe white inveſtments figure innocence;
——————Who ſhall believe,
But ye miſuſe the rev'rence of your place,
Under the counterfeited zeal of God,
In deeds moſt damnable?

SHAKESPEARE.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CVIII.

EVERY inſtitution in the firſt ages of the Chriſtian church, and indeed for many ages afterwards, derived its authority from the unbounded and admitted pretenſions of the Popes to dominion. The Pope of Rome, if we ſubſcribe to the ſynodical interpretations of the Holy Scriptures, was the viſible head of the Chriſtian church, and had received (if not immediately from Jeſus Chriſt, at leaſt from St. Peter) the Holy Ghoſt, the order of prieſthood, and the power of opening and ſhutting the gates of heaven; with the farther eſſential prerogative, of tranſmitting thoſe heavenly endowments to his ſucceſſors in the papacy. "And "the Lord ſaid unto Peter, I will give

"thee

" thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,
" and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on earth,
" ſhall be bound in heaven; and whatſo-
" ever thou ſhalt looſe on earth, ſhall be
" looſed in heaven." And hence his commiſſion.

Beſides this, Sylveſter found it would be convenient to have certain comfortable reſources in his poſſeſſion, which in the event of neceſſity, might enable him to ſupport his ſupremacy; and accordingly he is ſaid to have forged a donation from the Emperor Conſtantine, which inveſted him and the ſucceſſors of Saint Peter with the city of Rome, and all the provinces, places, and towns of Italy. He left likewiſe in pretenſion to his heirs, a rank ſuperior to every ſovereign upon earth. Even the Cardinals of the hierarchy were afterwards to be conſidered, in rank, as upon an equality with Kings. But the moſt ſublime and illuſtrious of the inhe-

rencies

rencies in the Pope, the Prince of Prieſts, the Vicegerent of the Emperor of heaven, conſiſted in the canonization of thoſe whoſe virtues entitled them to an exalted ſituation in Paradiſe, and in the clemency of heaven, which he could extend to the wicked at pleaſure.

Chimerical and ludicrous as all claims to infallibility and univerſal juriſdiction may be deemed, and profane and unchriſtian-like as all the divine inheritance pretended to by the Popes may be conſidered, they were undoubtedly the cauſes which operated to the permanency of the papal ſupremacy. Nor ſhould ſuch circumſtances be deemed unworthy of admiration; for in fact, they are as wiſe and as ſolid, ſo far as they merely concern empire, as are the pretenſions of any other power; and what would become of the claims of the different governments of the world, were

they

they to be tried upon the principles of equity and juſtice?

Are the ancient Romans to be celebrated for their conqueſt of the earth; and are the modern Romans to be reprobated, becauſe in a leſs bluſtering, though in a more effectual diſplay of political abilities, they have ſhewn themſelves capable of erecting a more formidable authority? For my own part, the net which was thrown by the ſucceſſors of the fiſherman over the conſciences of mankind, was ſo ſtrong, and binding in its conſtruction; that I muſt confeſs myſelf inclinable to give the hierarchy as much credit as the republic. The ſlow, but ſure workings of the underſtanding, are indiſputably as worthy of commendation, as the impetuous, but bloody reputation, that is conſequent on war.

In

In all eccleſiaſtical matters, the deciſions of the Pope were received as the infallible deciſions of the Divinity. But, the holy fathers were not content with the ſuperintendence and regulation of all ſacred affairs, they boldly extended their interference to the domeſtic arrangements; the manners and cuſtoms of every people under the denomination of Chriſtians. Crowns they diſpoſed of at their will. They dethroned ſovereigns. They abſolved ſubjects from their allegiance. They even laid whole kingdoms under interdiction. So that there was not, as it is alledged, a throne which they had not ſhaken, nor a prince who did not ſhudder at their power.

Francis I. when Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, gave the eaſtern and weſtern empires to the Spaniards and Portugueſe, finding himſelf ſhut out, demanded a ſight of Adam's laſt will and teſtament,

that

that he might ſee the cauſe, why a King of France ſhould be excluded from thoſe hemiſpheres. But Francis was a liberal-minded man. Sovereigns who had lived before him, and many who appeared afterwards in Europe, manifeſted leſs regard to the dignity of their characters. It will ſcarcely be believed, but it is a fact authenticated in hiſtory, that an Emperor of Germany was obliged to appear at the gate of the holy Pontiff, and to ſtand there bare footed for three days, as a ſuppliant, praying for mercy and forgiveneſs. Nay, it is recorded, that one of the Popes inſolently ſet his foot on the head of an Emperor whilſt he was kiſſing his ſlipper, and kicked off his crown, to ſhew that it was in his power to take it from him when he pleaſed. Thus omnipotent was he! His nod, like unto that of Jove, or more properly like that of the ſovereign of the Natchez, was ſuch, that every morning he might have ſtrutted from his

palace,

palace, beckoned to the ſun, bid him ſmoke his pipe, and then indicated to him with his finger, the courſe he would have him ſteer, until the evening ſhould deſcend.

What was there to which the multitude of Chriſtians would not have acceded? Did not they almoſt adore their ſovereign Pontiff? Did not they admit of his poſſeſſing ſupernatural gifts, and heavenly endowments? Did not they offer incenſe to him? Did not they proſtrate themſelves before him, as the children of Iſrael did before the Calf? Did not they humbly kiſs his toe? a cuſtom, by the way, borrowed as probably from their progenitors in Caligula's time, who introduced at Rome, the cuſtom of kiſſing the ſlipper, as from the text of ſcripture which runs, "And Chriſt ſaid, ſeeſt thou "this woman? ſhe hath waſhed my feet "with tears, and wiped them with the

" hairs of her head, but thou haſt given
" me no water for my feet. Thou gaveſt
" me no kiſs, but this woman, ſince the
" time I came, hath not ceaſed to kiſs
" my feet." In a word, during the vigour and paramount control of the hierarchy, did the followers of Chriſt manifeſt leſs ſuperſtition and extravagancy than the Heathens of whom we have recently been treating? Or, to go a ſtep farther, did any of the celebrated characters of antiquity ſeriouſly give themſelves up to ſuch poſitive inſanity?

Rabelais, it is ſaid, could never be prevailed on, while he was at Rome, to accompany the Ambaſſador to an audience with the Pope. The Ambaſſador one day aſked him his reaſon for it. He replied, " I have an inſuperable averſion to bad
" ſmells. Your Excellency, the repre-
" ſentative of a great monarch, is un-
" der the neceſſity of kiſſing the Pope's
" toe.

" toe. Now, if ſuch be your lot, what
" muſt be mine, who am but a poor phy-
" ſician. Doubtleſs I ſhall be obliged to
" kiſs his nether end."

FRAGMENT CIX.

IT was folemnly decreed, in the famous Bull Unam Sanctam, "to be an article "of faith neceſſary to ſalvation, to be-"lieve, that every human creature was "ſubject to the Pope." A Romiſh writer of eminence, aſſerts "a prieſt to be as "much above a king, as a man is above "a beaſt." Nay, Bellarmine, in order to cut the matter ſhort, pithily concludes, "that if a Pope ſhould enjoin vices, and "forbid virtues, the Chriſtian church "would be obliged to believe vices good, "and virtues evil, or it would ſin againſt "conſcience."

The tiara, ſince the days of Peter, has graced the brows of upwards of two hun-

dred

dred and fifty ſovereign Pontiffs. Many of them monſters, many of them men of exemplary piety and virtue. All, however, ſteady and perſevering in the increaſe of the papal infallibility. Sacred matters, when dominion is in queſtion, will always take the lead of temporal. But no authority is ſo formidable or binding, as that wherein they aſſiſt, and mutually ſupport each other. Religion in every country has furniſhed the proof. Penetration, wiſdom, and ſagacity, have never been ſo effectual in their workings, as when cloathed under the appearances of piety, humanity, and grace.

But the holy ſpirit, was not excluſively and neceſſarily confined to the perſon of the Pope himſelf. It was transferable. Any man might procure it by ſpecial commiſſion. Every council and aſſembly of the dignified clergy had it, from the nature of their profeſſion. Hence ſecta-

ries, from the efficiency of divine inſpiration, exhibited a ſecond confuſion of tongues. They oppoſed, they reviled, and they damned one another. Each laid claim to extraordinary prerogatives. They all boaſted of the influence of the Holy Ghoſt. They all, in their turns, became branded as preachers of the ſuggeſtions of the devil. The councils, thus, though they were as contradictory in their decrees as any other councils whatever, were always deemed infallible. The canons, repugnant as they might be to goſpel, morality, and wiſdom, were never conſidered otherwiſe than as the effuſions of the Holy Spirit. God inſpired and dictated the ordinances of his favourite church.

A wag, indeed, ſaid, during the ſitting of the council of Trent, that the Holy Spirit arrived to certain of the aſſembly every day, in the cloak-bag of the poſtil-

lion,

lion, who came from Verſailles. This we muſt ſuppoſe impoſſible. For goodneſs, if I may be allowed ſo to expreſs myſelf, muſt certainly have ſuperabounded in the elect of the middle ages of Chriſtianity. The proofs are without number: ſo much ſo, that out of the aggregate ſtock of the good works of the ſaints, which were over and above what was neceſſary for their own ſalvation, and which was formed into a grand deſpot, the Popes (Urban I., I believe, began it) had a free and an unlimited credit. Their drafts were unheſitatingly honoured. The bill-holder having nothing elſe to do than to ſettle the rate of exchange, it being at ſome times, perſonal, as during the cruſades; at other times pecuniary, as when the pontifical treaſury was ebbing rather faſt.

Beſides this exhauſtleſs bank of the good works of the ſaints, the keys that

were committed to St. Peter, and by him to his ſucceſſors in the vicarage, were a means of conferring innumerable bleſſings on the world. To open the gates of heaven to the miſerable ſinner, was to raiſe the weak hearted—and to open to the rays of hope the minds of the foully-tainted multitude. A ſimple indulgence contained the whole. It was moreover, cheap, and eaſily to be procured. The form of that granted by Tetzel in the ſixteenth century, and quoted by an elegant hiſtorian, runs thus: "May our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt have mercy upon thee, "and abſolve thee by the merits of his moſt "holy paſſion. And I, by his authority, "that of his bleſſed apoſtles Peter and "Paul, and of the moſt holy Pope, "granted and committed to me in theſe "parts, do abſolve thee, firſt from all "eccleſiaſtical cenſures, in whatever man-"ner they have been incurred; and then "from all thy ſins, tranſgreſſions, and

"exceſſes,

" exceſſes, how enormous ſoever they
" may be, even from ſuch as are reſerved
" for the cognizance of the holy ſee, and
" as far as the keys of the holy church
" extend. I remit to you all puniſh-
" ment which you diſcover in Purgatory
" on their account, and I reſtore you to
" the holy ſacraments of the church, to
" the unity of the faithful, and to that
" innocence and purity which you poſ-
" ſeſſed at baptiſm; ſo that when you
" die, the gates of puniſhment ſhall be
" ſhut, and the gates of the Paradiſe of
" Delight ſhall be opened; and if you
" ſhall not die at preſent, this grace ſhall
" remain in full force at the point of
" death. In the name of the Father,
" and of the Son, and of the Holy
" Ghoſt."

The ſame celebrated writer then ſelects ſome paſſages from Luther, which paint in the moſt glowing colours the doctrines

of

of Tetzel and his aſſociates on the ſubject of indulgencies. "If any man (ſay they) purchaſe letters of indulgence, his ſoul may reſt ſecure, with reſpect to its ſalvation. The ſouls confined in Purgatory, for whoſe redemption indulgencies are purchaſed, as ſoon as the money tinkles in the cheſt, inſtantly eſcape from that place of torment, and aſcend into heaven. The efficacy of indulgence is ſo great, that the moſt heinous ſins, even if one ſhould violate (which is impoſſible) the mother of God, ſhall be remitted and expiated by them, and the perſon be freed both from puniſhment and guilt. Indulgence is the unſpeakable gift of God, given to reconcile man to himſelf. Nor is the croſs erected by the preachers of indulgencies, leſs efficacious than the croſs of Chriſt itſelf. Lo! the heavens are open; if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve pence, you may redeem the ſoul of your father out of Purgatory; and

are

are you ſo ungrateful, that you will not reſcue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat, you ſhould ſtrip yourſelf and ſell it, in order to purchaſe ſuch benefits."

To read of impoſitions ſo enormous and ſo flagitious as the above, and to conſider that all modern Europe was at one time pervaded by an implicit belief of their efficacy and truth, is moſt humiliating to ſenſe, and moſt ſhocking to Chriſtianity. When we reflect on it, what have you, ye proud Chriſtians, ſo greatly to boaſt of? Two centuries are ſcarcely paſt, ſince ye were plunged in this ignominious blindneſs; a blindneſs more fatally pernicious than all the idolatry of the heathens. What an encourager, what a prolific parent of infamy and vice! But I will avoid bearing hard even on wickedneſs ſo abominable, leſt my intention ſhould be miſtaken. My

blood

blood, I own, boils within me with indignation. I bluſh when I reflect, how little more than the name of Chriſtians the children of a free religion had to ſhew, of all that had been graciouſly bequeathed to them by their Saviour!

Cupidity was the over-ruling paſſion of the prieſthood; they extorted from the people the whole that they poſſeſſed; they made them, one would think, believe, that avarice was a firſt attribute of the Divinity; and that the ſaints made a traffic of their influence and protection. "It is true," ſays Clovis, "St. Martin "ſerves his friends with zeal; but be- "tween you and I, he makes them pay "roundly for his trouble." Indeed ſo ſurcharged were they with the good things of this world, that your Firſt Richard, in a lively moment, commended his pride to the Templars, his avarice to the

bould

the Benedictines, and his voluptuousness to his good lords the bishops.

The text of scripture which runs, "and "Jesus breathed on his disciples and "said, receive ye the Holy Ghost—whose-"ever sins ye remit, they are remitted "unto them; and whosever sins ye "retain, they are retained," most probably invested the Popes not only with the delusive imposition of indulgence, which exalted their power and character in the eyes of the world, and the wicked, which latter are always the most superstitious; but likewise with those instruments of punishment, anathemas, and excommunications, which dragged the most mighty under their feet, and thereby consolidated their authority.

Excommunications were common; the persons so cursed were not only cut off from the benefits of all communion with

the

the holy myſteries of their religion, but were alſo excluded from all human ſociety; levelled with the beaſts, delivered into the power of their enemies, and often condemned to temporal fire in this world, and to that which is eternal in the next. "May the wrath of God," ſays Clement VI. in a bull of excommunication, fulminated againſt the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, "and of St. Peter and "St. Paul, cruſh him in this world, and "that which is to come! May the earth "open and ſwallow him alive; may his "memory periſh, and all the elements be "his enemies! And may his children "fall into the hands of his adverſaries, "even in the ſight of their father!"

Theſe, not very favourable traits, with various others which might be adduced, manifeſt the little efficacy of Chriſtianity on the minds of thoſe of the Romiſh perſuaſion during the times of which I am

ſpeaking.

ſpeaking. Nothing was leſs diſcernible in the Chriſtian character than charity, mildneſs, and humanity. The whole conduct of human affairs was ſtamped with ferociouſneſs and barbarity. "We "declare thy wife a widow," ſaid a ban of the empire, "thy children orphans, "and ſend thee, in the name of the de- "vil, to the four corners of the earth." The Emperor, Baldwin, in the thirteenth century, being taken priſoner, had his legs and arms cut off, and was left a prey to the wild beaſts. Jornandi, of the houſe of the Norman Princes, was tied naked on a chain of red hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the ſame burning metal which was nailed to his head.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CX.

THE wiſdom and goodneſs of God pointed out activity, as being not only eſſentially neceſſary to the preſervation of the corporeal faculties, but as being eminently requiſite to mental health and the virtues of the mind. Man was never ordained to prey upon himſelf, and feed on thought. Goodneſs is a relative quality; it is only uſeful when diſplayed in action. Theoretic, barren ſpeculations, are repugnant to every thing ſocial and agreeable; and when joined to monaſtic, cloiſtered contemplations, they are even adverſe to the ſcriptural doctrines of Chriſtianity; but if ſuch be blamable, what ſhall we ſay of the viſionaries who ſeek the road to heaven through mortifications, penan-

ces,

ces, and perſonal chaſtiſements? What an amaſing catalogue of fanaticks lies before us! It is ſcarcely to be credited.

One Simeon Stillites, ſay *Les Lettres Juifs*, who flouriſhed in the fifth century, lived forty years erect upon a pillar like a ſtatue, and had no way to eaſe himſelf, but the ſame privileges which geeſe have, that ſtand ſometimes on one foot, and ſometimes on another. Before he was diſplaced, he was invocated for a pain in the hams. St. Dunſtan amuſed himſelf with the devil, whom he could manage as he pleaſed; and one day, as the ſaid infernal ſpirit went to take ſome liberty with him, he ſeized him by the noſe with a pair of tongs, and chaſtiſed him to ſuch a degree, that the devil would have no more to do with him. Various, and as ridiculous things are told of St. Anthony's temptations in the wilderneſs, and St. Dominic amuſing himſelf with burning the

devil's claws with a flambeau. We have it on record, that St. Hilarian was content with only four figs a day, and that after ſun ſet; that St. Dorothy the Theban never lay down; that St. Guingulvis made two hundred genuflections a day; that St. Paul, the Anchoret, prayed three hundred times a day; that St. Polychron ſaid his prayers with the root of a great oak upon his ſhoulders; that St. Baradat and St. Thalella bent themſelves quite double in a cage upon the point of a rock, and that St. Anthelmus gave himſelf a thouſand laſhes a day.

Now all theſe, and an hundred equally extravagant things, are to be picked out of the lives of the Saints (mark they were Saints) of Chriſtianity. As many more, I know, could have been ſelected from the ſuperſtitious nations of whom we have been treating, particularly the Hindoos and Mohammedans; but the bringing

bringing ſo extravagant, though univerſal, an inſanity home to the children of Chriſtianity, was the purpoſe at which I aimed; and my reaſon was, the unavoidable reflection which it muſt inculcate, that cuſtoms and manners, as well as religious modes of action, are not more ridiculous in one people, than they probably may be in another; and that temper, candour, and indulgence, are therefore highly eſſential, in comparatively reviewing the different nations of the earth. A lively Poet ſays,

A Fackeer, (a religion well known in the eaſt
Not much like a parſon, ſtill leſs like a prieſt)
With no canting, nor ſly jeſuitical arts,
Field-preaching, hypocriſy, learning, or parts;
By a happy refinement in mortification,
Grew the oracle ſaint, and the pope of his nation.
But what did he do, this eſteem to acquire,
Did he torture his head or his boſom with fire?
Was his neck in a portable pillory cas'd?
Did he faſten a chain to his leg or his waiſt?
No; his holineſs roſe to this ſovereign pitch,
By the merit of running long nails in his breech.

CAMBRIDGE.

The ſeverity of penance, and the mortifications to which viſionaries abandon themſelves, are ſurely indications of a diſturbed imagination; of an inclination to impoſe, or of a capriciouſneſs ſcarcely to be defined. Can it ever occur to a rational being, that God can be pleaſed with the ſight of ſtripes and flagellations? That he can have ſatisfaction in beholding us refuſe the comforts and the bleſſings he has given us to enjoy? That to ſerve him we muſt neglect our fellow creatures, and ſo ſave our ſouls that we muſt deſtroy our bodies? Theſe are all abominable concluſions, counter in the extreme, to the unbounded goodneſs of the majeſty of heaven.

Is it material, or is it conſonant to any one principle of reaſon, that the garb, the food, the ſpot, ſhould be of conſequence to a man, whoſe ſoul overflows with grateful unaffected piety and thankſgiving?

giving? Believe me the idea is an impious one. Religion and wiſdom both ſay, virtue is beſt recommended by example; and that he is the really good man who has courage to practice it in open day. God delights to ſee his creatures happy; wherefore it is imprinted on every human breaſt that

> Wiſdom, tho' richer than Peruvian mines,
> And ſweeter than the ſweet ambroſial hive,
> What is ſhe but the means of happineſs?
> That unobtain'd, than folly more a fool;
> A melancholy fool without her bells.
>
> YOUNG, n. ii. v. 458.

But to ſo outrageous a renunciation of every pleaſurable gratification in this life did the Catholic perſuaſion entice its votaries, that though Chriſt himſelf curſed a fig tree becauſe it was barren, they yet recommended to both man and woman rigid and perpetual continency. They did not, indeed, eſtabliſh a criminality in marriage, but they did what was nearly

the ſame thing, they extolled and declared virginity to be a virtue.

The Mohammedans, of whom we have already ſpoke, were early trained to an acquieſcence in certain cruel and extraordinary actions. But, if Mohammedans could be deemed wrong, in depriving unhappily devoted men of the powers of generation; and in conſequence of licentiouſneſs or jealouſy, if they immured their females in the Zunnana; can they be looked upon as more culpable than the Chriſtians, who enjoin a life of celibacy to the prieſthood, and who cloiſter up their virgins, as if they were inanimate as the ſhrines at which they are forced to kneel? All God's creatures were deſigned to propagate their kind. Every part of animated, nay of vegetable nature, demonſtrates it to our ſenſes. Is the human ſpecies alone to fruſtrate the ends of its creation? Are man and woman, only, of

thoſe

thoſe who breathe the breath of life, to be doomed to an unenjoined, unnatural mortification, and that from a fallacious expoſition of a text of ſcripture? The Abbé Fleury, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſays, that in the one city of Oxyrinchus in Lower Egypt, there were twenty thouſand conſecrated virgins, and ten thouſand monks. Shall we read this, and then wholly condemn the diſciples of the Koran for deſtroying the ſexual diſtinction of man, while we paſs over with tenderneſs, if not with entire approbation, the Catholic ſecluſion of thoſe who were declaredly made for the comfort and ſolace of each other? The abſurdity is glaring.

Among the Chriſtians, ſays the ſagacious and learned Monteſquieu in his *Letres Perſiannes*, the prieſts and derviſes of both ſexes, who devote themſelves to perpetual continence, have acquired the virtue of virtues, though I cannot comprehend

any virtue, not knowing how that can be a virtue, which is productive of nothing. I find their doctors plainly contradicting themſelves, when they ſay, that marriage is holy, and that celibacy, which is oppoſite to it, is more holy. This practice of continence hath been the loſs of more men, than ever have been deſtroyed by the plague, or the moſt bloody wars. We ſee in every religious houſe, an endleſs family, where nobody is born, and which is maintained at the expence of every body elſe. Theſe houſes are always open, like ſo many pits, wherein future generations are buried alive.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CXI.

THE holy and beatified St. Chryſoſtom, calls a life of celibacy, "a life "worthy of heaven; not inferior to that "of angels." A young lady of England ſpeaks of it more naturally, and ſo entirely to the purpoſe, that I would to heaven her ſentiments were inſcribed in letters of gold, over the portal of every cloiſter and monaſtery in chriſtendom.

To retire from the crowd,
And make ourſelves good,
  By avoiding of ev'ry temptation;
Is in truth to reveal,
What we'd better conceal,
  That our paſſions want ſome regulation.
It will much more redound
To our praiſe, to be found,
  In a world ſo abounding with evil,
Unſpotted and pure,
Though not ſo demure,
  As to wage open war with the devil.

In

In delivering my ſentiments thus freely on religious houſes, I am far from deſiring to be conſidered as of the number of thoſe who have a malignant ſatisfaction in holding them up as ſinks of turpitude and corruption. I level only at the inſtitutions. The brothers and the ſiſters of thoſe holy places I can readily believe to be as charitable, virtuous, and kind-hearted, as any people upon earth:

Full many a gem of pureſt ray ſerene,
The dark, unfathom'd caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flow'r is born to bloom unſeen,
And waſte its fragrance on the deſart air.

I only lament their ſituation. I think it a cruel one to themſelves, a pernicious one to ſociety, and in every reſpect repugnant to the will and doctrine of our Saviour.

But religious ſocieties are growing into diſuſe. Ruſſia has already eſtabliſhed a

law that no male ſhall become a monk, till he is turned of thirty; and no female a nun, till ſhe is fifty; and even then, not without expreſs permiſſion from their ſuperiors.

While I admit, however, of piety and good actions in the convents and monaſteries, I yet cannot refrain from animadverting on that extraordinary cuſtom, which took its riſe among the chaſte and undefiled prieſthood, the cuſtom of confeſſing, and directing the conſciences of the laity. The religion of a country, whether revealed or impoſed, is a ſubject of the moſt delicate texture. It ſhould be handled with diffidence, and circumſpection. But its excreſcencies ſhould at all reaſonable moments be lopped off. Admitting this evident neceſſity, (and who can deny it) it follows of courſe, that an alien regulator, a ſpiritual guide in a family, is a baneful infringement of

that

that wholesome authority, which the head of it should invariably possess. Can it be rationally imagined, that priests are compounded of different materials from those of ordinary men? Have they not the same passions and desires? Does the blood in their veins circulate less riotously than in ours? Priests, however they may enjoin abstinence to others, are not the most cruel mortifiers of the flesh themselves. They love, as other men, good living: And good living naturally creates propensities, which are not always to be kept in subjection. God forbid that I should be supposed the accuser of the pastors of the flock. I speak of them merely as men: men frail and liable to error. I speak likewise of them, as I look upon the situation in which they are placed, as confessors, hazardous and inimical to virtue. How few are there, in this world, of the sexes, who unallied can trust themselves in an unrestrained intercourse of communication?

nication? The weakneſſes to which we are liable, are dangerous, and eaſily to be laid hold of. It is not prudent to be too confident in our ſtrength.

Women aſſuredly run great riſques, in giving up the direction of their actions to thoſe of the other ſex, who are the depoſitaries of their ſecrets, and who have unbounded freedom in the adminiſtering of advice, puniſhment, or conſolation. No temptation can be more ſeductive, than that wherein the crime can be pardoned by the criminal. But, independent of the women, the authority of the men is greatly ſhaken by this foreign influence. The veneration and reſpect which are due to the father of a family, are by this means transferred. Domeſtic government is entirely at an end, for it is a ſelf-evident truth, that people ſeldom conſider any other than thoſe unto whom they are anſwerable.

Beſides,

Beſides, how favourable is it to machination; to the ſowing of the ſeeds of diſcord; and to the demolition of that goodly fabric of our happineſs, in which is contained all union, affection, concord, and confidence. Inſtitutions, ſo evidently adverſe to the welfare of ſociety, ſhould, if poſſible, be cruſhed. It is the duty of every man to lend his aſſiſtance to ſo laudable an undertaking. Breaking the ſpell of tyrannic cuſtom, is not unhinging the eſſentials of religion. It is one thing to prune the bluſhing roſe, another to nip it to its root.

Felicity is not to be had without alloy. The lot of man is, however, often to be improved. Our lives are chequered by the hand of fate.

—— Yet let reaſon mitigate our care:
To mourn avails not: man is born to bear.
Such is, alas! the gods' ſevere decree:
They, only they, are bleſt, and only free.
Two urns by Jove's high throne have ever ſtood,
The ſource of evil one, and one of good;

From

From thence the cup of mortal man he fills,
Bleſſings to theſe, and thoſe diſtributes ills;
To moſt he mingles both: the wretch decreed
To taſte the bad unmix'd, is curſt indeed:
Purſu'd by wrongs, by meagre famine driv'n,
He wanders out-caſt both of earth and heav'n.
The happieſt, taſte not happineſs ſincere,
But find the cordial draught is daſh'd with care.

ILIAD, b. xxiv. p. 669.

In the habits of religion, too frequently conſiſt our diſtreſſes, as well as our comforts. We have exemplified it in various inſtances. The wiſe man, therefore, as it has been well remarked, will endeavour to confine religious authority to its proper bounds; to the uſe for which it was firſt inſtituted, of inſpiring benevolence, modeſty, and ſubmiſſion in the people; nor ſuffer the credit of it to grow too ſtrong for that of the ſtate; the authority of the prieſt for that of the magiſtrate.

FRAGMENT CXII.

THE chains impoſed upon mankind by the church of Rome, were of a nature ſcarcely to be rent aſunder. Never were ſoul and body ſo completely ſhackled. John Wickliffe, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, firſt began to queſtion the infallibility of her doctrines. But he did not ſucceed in eſtabliſhing a formidable oppoſition to her *: *that* required a lapſe of two centuries more. The year of Chriſt 1517, uſhered in the

* In the time of England's fourth Henry, it was ordained by act of parliament, that the dioceſan alone, without the intervention of a ſynod, might convict of heretical tenets; and unleſs the convict abjured his opinions, or if after abjuration he relapſed, the ſheriff was bound *ex officio*, if required by the biſhop, to commit the unhappy victim to the flames.

dawn

dawn of philoſophy and emancipation. Luther then pointed out the way to intellectual liberty, and to the efficacy of good works. About the ſame time Nicholas Copernicus flouriſhed in Germany; to him ſucceeded Galileo in Italy; then followed Bacon, Des Cartes, Locke, Leibnitz, and, laſt of all, that refulgent brightneſs of the Gallaxy, the illuſtrious and immortal Newton.

From the beginning of the ſixteenth century, we are to date the introduction of reaſon and good ſenſe into modern Europe. It was at that æra that true religion and philoſophy came to be underſtood. Till then, the Pope had been omnipotent in the church, and Ariſtotle in the ſchools; but even this releaſe would have been ineffectual, had not Koſter of Holland, in 1440, been ſupremely fortunate in diſcovering the art of printing. This, rapidly improved upon, helped to

diſſeminate, and keep in circulation, the knowledge which had hitherto been buried from the world. The road was cleared, and every man could travel it, for the vehicles of inſtruction were multiplying, and entertainment was certain to be met with to the end of the journey.

An elegant writer obſerves, that Europe will, perhaps, behold ages of a bad taſte, but will never again relapſe into barbariſm, for that the ſole invention of printing will hinder that event. The obſervation is juſt, for it is certain the general currency and communication of knowledge, has ſerved to exalt the human character more within two and three hundred years paſt, than all the exertions and wiſdom of the ancients.

But I have wandered from my ſubject. While the ſupremacy of the Popes was acknowledged, all Europe manifeſted paſ-

five

ſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; and that not only to himſelf, but to all that were ordained and employed by him in the miniſtry. One baneful effect of this was intolerance. Nothing ſo bloody, we have already remarked, as a perſecuting ſpirit; it ſmiles and can rejoice at moſt pitiable diſtreſs. Superſtition and fanaticiſm, when blended, form a horrid character; there is nothing they will not undertake; they ſpurn at feeling; they glory in trampling on the laws of humanity. "I ſaw," ſays the benevolent Las Caſas, "in America, the Spaniards, my "own countrymen, open the wombs of "women big with child, that their off-"ſpring might periſh with them. I have "known them bet conſiderable ſums on "the cleaving an unhappy Indian down "with one blow of a ſabre. Infants "they have torn from their mothers' "arms, and, in ſport, have daſhed them "againſt the ſtones. In murdering the

" principal inhabitants, they have pur-
" poſely, and lingeringly, conſumed them
" with a ſlow fire; nay, the agonizing
" cries of ſome of thoſe unhappy vic-
" tims having one day incommoded an
" officer as he was going to reſt, he or-
" dered them to be ſtrangled; but one
" more wanton and ſavage in his cruelty
" reverſed the decree, and recommended
" them to be gagged, that ſo he might
" have the pleaſure of ſeeing them periſh
" at his eaſe; and to theſe, and to an in-
" finity of ſuch like cruelties, ſays that
" kind-hearted biſhop, I was, to my ſor-
" row, an unwilling witneſs."

" Zealots, no longer ſelf governed, (ob-ſerves the noble author of the Characte-riſtics) but ſet adrift on the wide ſea of paſſion, can in one and the ſame ſpirit of devotion exert the oppoſite paſſions of love and hatred; unite affectionately, and ab-hor furiouſly; curſe, bleſs, ſing, mourn, exult,

exult, tremble, careſs, aſſaſſinate, inflict, and ſupport martyrdom, with a thouſand other the moſt vehement efforts, of variable and contrary affection; and all this, when even the wildeſt of them muſt know that there are, have been, and always muſt be, a prodigious variety of religions, and that one form of faith can never be the univerſal belief of mankind."

FRAGMENT CXIII.

"I MUST be brought to your opinion (ſays Balbus, in the conference on the nature of the gods) by the force of reaſon; for a philoſopher ſhould prove to me the religion he would have me embrace; but I muſt believe the religion of my anceſtors without any proof." This is the caſe with all men of ſenſe and tolerating principles. How few have there been in the world who have originally profeſſed a religion from conviction! We do not chuſe or ſelect that form of prayer which we are to uſe; it is given to us like fate, to our vernacular tongue. Born in Turky, a man is a Mohammedan; born in France, he is a Chriſtian. The country, the town, the very houſe, often de-

termine

termines the mode by which we are to ſeek the favour and indulgence of heaven.

Now every one of the ſects, with which this world is ſo profuſely ſown, fancies its own doctrines the pureſt. Search into them all, how proud they are of their ſelf-created conſequence. I am not as that man is, ſays a Mohammedan; he knows not the doctrines of the Koran. Alas! poor idolater, replies the Chriſtian, thou wilt incontinently be damned for preferring the tenets of Mohammed, to thoſe of the acknowledged ſon of God: each thus looks upon the other as dreadfully plunged in error. Salvation is alone confined to the pale of their particular church. A certain man, as the ſtory goes, daily offered up to God this prayer: "Lord! I underſtand none of theſe diſ-" putes which are continually made con-" cerning thee. I would ſerve thee ac-" cording to thy will, but every perſon

" I conſult would have me do ſo accord-
" ing to his will. When I would pray
" to thee, I know not what language I
" ſhould uſe; nor do I know in what
" poſture I ought to put myſelf. One
" ſays I ought to pray ſtanding; another
" that I ſhould ſit; and a third requires
" me to kneel. This is not all: there
" are thoſe who pretend that I ought to
" waſh myſelf every morning with cold
" water: others maintain, that thou wilt
" regard me with abhorrence, if I do
" not allow myſelf to be circumciſed.
" The other day, I happened to eat at a
" Carravanſary a rabbit: three men who
" were preſent made me tremble; they
" all three maintained, that I had grie-
" vouſly offended thee. One, a Turk,
" becauſe this was an unclean animal;
" the other, a Jew, becauſe it was ſtrang-
" led; and the third, an Armenian, be-
" cauſe it was not a fiſh. I appealed to
" a Bramin, but he ſaid I had committed

" an

" an abominable action in having killed " it, and that God would never forgive " me."

As I have above ſaid, our religious principles are not of our own forming, nor are they implanted in our breaſts immediately by heaven. We are turned as ſheep are, into certain walks, and then as faſhion, which is the ſhepherd, directs, we feed and pick up nouriſhment as we go along. The accidents ariſing from the circumſtances of our ſituation, inevitably compel our aſſent to certain things. We know not why it ſhould be—We only know it is ſo. And ſhall we, who are ſo entirely the work of chance, think ſo injuriouſly of God, as to believe he will puniſh an act, for which we are in fact not anſwerable? It is impious and derogatory to the majeſty of Heaven to ſuppoſe it. Religion being ſeated in the heart, and the heart being open to God

alone,

alone, there he will read us. The externals, the formularies which are appointed to render him adoration, are intrinſically immaterial, as they ſtand relatively to another life. As matters of ſtate, indeed, and as conducive to the preſervation of good government, they are undoubtedly to be revered, and ought to be obſerved. Conſcience may, it will, be regulated, by the particular bias it has received. It does not follow, however, that its feelings ſhould be propagated, ſo as to endanger the repoſe of a community.

The fathers of Chriſtianity early began to deviate from the inſtructions of their Maſter. In ſending forth his apoſtles, he commanded "that they ſhould "take nothing for their journey, ſaving "a ſtaff only; no ſcrip, no bread, no mo-"ney in their purſe: but be ſhod with "ſandals, and not put on two coats."

Had

Had they attended to this, their humility and moderation might have been ornamental to mankind. But they ſtarted inordinately from the paths of gentleneſs and peace. Riches, power, and dominion, ſeized on the mind of the prieſthood. They panted for the forbidden fruit; and having got it, "the mortal "taſte brought death into the world," and calamities moſt grievous.

While we know, that there muſt always be as many religions almoſt as there are nations, it is certainly incumbent on us, as it is at the ſame time the moſt ſafe and equitable plan, to allow of univerſal toleration. Let no man ſuffer for his religious opinions, whilſt he keeps them inoffenſively to himſelf. This is the undoubted way to prevent tumults and diſorders in a ſtate. Man can live in fellowſhip with man, though the articles of his belief be different. As citizens, or as children of

the

the ſame parent earth, one natural religion is common to us all. The principles of a good mind are intrinſically the ſame, whether the poſſeſſor of them be Jew, Infidel, or Chriſtian. Let the clergy be reſtrained from lighting the fires of perſecution, and the ſubjects of a country, of whatever perſuaſion, will live in harmony and peace, and be ambitious of attaining the characters of good and uſeful citizens.

In dwelling, as I have done in various places, on the ſubject of toleration, I have been impelled, by the conſideration that what has once happened, unleſs cautiouſly guarded againſt, may again happen. Martyrdoms, and religious proſcriptions, are now certainly in ſome ſort of diſuſe in Chriſtendom. But it is not clear to me, that there are not ſome latent ſparks lurking in the breaſts of the fanatic and ſuperſtitious, which might ſpread a ruinous conflagration, were opportunity afforded them.

them. The beginning of the ſixteenth century witneſſed the maſſacre of fifty thouſand Proteſtants in Ireland. The year 1572 ſaw the horrible butchery of St. Bartholomew, when Paris alone ſtreamed with the blood of ten thouſand of her deareſt and moſt valuable citizens. Your own London, not very lately ſhook, from a cauſe which, to ſay the leaſt, had its riſe in an intemperate zeal.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CXIV.

WERE it not that we have undoubted vouchers of the fact, it would be almoſt impoſſible to conceive that there ever could have exiſted a religious tribunal more ſanguinary than the Inquiſition. Unhappily there did, and Germany gave the monſter birth. It was called the Judgement of Weſtphalia, or the Vhemic Court. The ſeverity, or rather cruelty, of this court, ſays the able commentator on Beccaria's benevolent treatiſe on Crimes and Puniſhments, went ſo far, as to puniſh with death every Saxon who broke his faſt during lent. The ſame law was alſo eſtabliſhed in Franche Compté, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. "A poor gentle-
"man, named Claude Guillon, was be-
"headed

" headed on the twenty-eighth of July,
" 1629. Being reduced to the utmoſt
" poverty, and urged by the moſt into-
" lerable hunger, he eat, on a fiſh day,
" a morſel of horſe-fleſh, which had been
" killed in a neighbouring field. This
" was his crime. He was found guilty
" of ſacrilege: had he been a rich man,
" and had ſpent two hundred crowns in a
" ſupper of ſea fiſh, ſuffering the poor to
" die of hunger, he would have been con-
" ſidered as a perſon fulfilling every duty."
The following is a copy of his ſentence:
" Having ſeen all the papers of the pro-
" ceſs, and heard the opinions of the
" doctors learned in the law, we declare
" the ſaid Claude Guillon to be truly at-
" tainted, and convicted of having taken
" away a part of the fleſh of a horſe,
" killed in the meadow of that town, of
" having cauſed the ſaid fleſh to be dreſſed,
" and of eating the ſame on Saturday the
" thirty-firſt of March," &c.

The

The ſame ingenious writer proceeds farther to tell us, that at Bourdeaux a young lady of quality was ſtoned to death for not having faſted on a Sunday, as was the cuſtom of the Priſcillianiſts. Theſe are dreadful tales. How loudly do they cry, "Woe unto you, ye wicked ones, "for ye lade men with burdens grievous "to be borne, and ye yourſelves touch "not the burdens with one of your fin-"gers." Requiſite as it is that the multitude ſhould be reſtrained by the fear of God, and eſſential as it is that the bars of religion ſhould not be removed, it is yet moſt ſhocking to humanity, that Chriſtianity ſhould at any time have admitted of ſuch terrible enormities. Wholeſome though religion is, and greatly beneficial as it muſt undoubtedly be conſidered, yet when we reflect on the effects it works on minds naturally, perhaps, diſinclined to either benevolence or charity, we might par-

pardonably, almoſt, pronounce it happy for a people to be in utter ignorance, rather than be ſubject to a perſuaſion favourable to the intolerance of gloomy ſuperſtition.

An hundred thouſand wretches are calculated to have been condemned to death for witchcraft by Chriſtian tribunals. How horrible the long account! The celebrated Cardinal Richlieu had an eminent preacher burnt alive on an accuſation of magic and enchantment. Even in Scotland, ſo late as Queen Elizabeth's time, Sir James Melville mentions the execution of ſeveral for the ſame offences. But the learned Biſhop Jewel ſhews the general belief of the power of incantation, in its moſt unequivocal dreſs. In a ſermon preached before Queen Elizabeth, he ſays, "It may pleaſe your Grace to underſtand, that this kind of people, I

" mean witches and ſorcerers, within theſe
" few years, are marvellouſly increaſed
" within your Grace's realm. Theſe eyes
" have ſeen moſt evident marks of their
" wickedneſs. Your Grace's ſubjects pine
" away, even unto death; their colour
" fadeth; their fleſh rotteth; their ſpeech
" is benumbed; their ſenſes bereft. The
" ſhoal of theſe malefactors is great, their
" malice intolerable, their examples moſt
" miſerable; and I pray God, they never
" practiſe farther than on the ſubject."

Never, ſurely, did any people manifeſt more blind ſuperſtition than ſuch Chriſtians. The exceſſes they ran into are ſcarcely to be credited. To deal with the devil, was a matter of orthodox and general conſent. " I ſaw the devil himſelf," ſaid St. Cyprian; " I embraced him, I
" converſed with him, and was eſteemed
" one of thoſe who held a principal rank
" about

"about him, while I was ſtudying magic." At the burning of his votaries, this ſame devil, they will ſeriouſly tell you, never failed attendance. His appearance, they repreſent as uniformly in a black gown, with a black hat on his head, in the attitude of preaching, and with poſteriors as cold as ice. I will, however, conclude the ſubject with the anſwer I received from a wild and uncivilized chief, whoſe clans have been lately brought under ſome ſort of government in the Eaſt. Having explained to him the general idea of witches, and my deſire of knowing if he had any ſuch miſchievous animals in his country, he laughed—"Old women "witches!" ſaid he; "no, no, we have "no ſuch creatures among us. Young "ones there are, if you pleaſe, and they "lead us often aſtray. The magic of a "pretty girl is often too powerful. We "really fancy ourſelves bewitched by

" them. It is, however, a pleasing kind
" of fascination. We like it, and instead
" of punishing them, as you tell me is
" the custom in some countries, we kiss
" them for their wickedness."

FRAG-

FRAGMENT CXV.

THE ſky has at length become ſerene; at leaſt the clouds lour no longer over the favourite ſoil of England. Your religion tolerant, and your government well poiſed, they are both eſtabliſhed upon rocks of adamant. Freedom dwells among the happy children of the Britiſh iſles. The laws by which you are ruled, are the laws of juſtice, tempered by humanity; their object is, what it ſhould be, the prevention of crimes. They look, when it is poſſible, with a merciful eye on the offender. Moreover that ordinance which forces open the ſecrets of the priſon, your *habeas corpus* is a bleſſing not only peculiarly your own, but is ſuch as muſt challenge the applauſe and the admiration of the world.

I am now going to a diſtant quarter of the earth, and muſt therefore put an end to this Rhapſody; before I conclude, however, I cannot help hinting to you, that the laws of Chriſtendom are ſtill too ſevere* — too many are put to death. For one that ſuffers in China, that prodigiouſly extenſive country, thouſands and ten thouſands are delivered over to the executioner in Europe. Laws ſhould not be thus oppreſſive and tyrannical; there is a wholeſome limitation which ſhould always be put to ſeverity; neither ſhould torture or barbarous puniſhments be allowed. To inflict inſupportable puniſhments on a guilty wretch, is juſtly denominated a baſe and an infamous ſpi-

* It is a melancholy truth, that among the variety of actions which men in England are liable daily to commit, no leſs than an hundred and ſixty have been declared, by act of parliament, to be felonies without benefit of clergy; or, in other words, to be worthy of inſtant death. So dreadful a liſt, inſtead of diminiſhing, increaſes the number of offenders.

rit

rit of vengeance, unworthy of the laws and of a ſovereign. "You forget that "you are men," ſaid Damien, when expiring under the torture, for an attempt to aſſaſſinate Louis XV.

Horrible executions are not productive of the conſequences expected, the deterring the wicked from the perpetration of crimes; on the contrary, the frequency of them renders them the leſs formidable to the multitude. The habituating men to ſuch ſpectacles, ſerves only to make them indifferent to public puniſhment. Solemn tribunals, with an awful ceremonial, an equitable ſcale of puniſhment proportionate to offences; and an obloquy indelible on all foul tranſactions, would fix the principle of prevention more radically, than all the dreadful examples which are exhibited. The countries leaſt infeſted with violaters of the peace of ſociety, are

thoſe where the penal ſtatutes are circumſpect, but few.

Is the ſimple robber to meet a like ſeverity of puniſhment with the inceſtuous and the murderer? How extravagant are the doctrines of ſuch coercion! If death be indiſcriminately appointed for the wretch, who, ſtarving with hunger or with cold, pilfers a meal, or a covering for his nakedneſs; and for the bloody-handed monſter who hath practiſed on man's life, what have you in reſerve for the ſafety of your perſons? Truſt me your ordinances are unwiſely ſanguinary; unleſs for great and urgent reaſons, puniſhments, if poſſible, ſhould be mitigated. "It is difficult, indeed," ſays Seneca, "to find the juſt balance; but the ine-"quality ſhould be always on the mil-"der ſide."

Conceal-

Concealment of infamy was, by the ſtatute law of England, (a ſtatute now in general humanely deviated from) made evidence of murder. A woman, in caſe of accident to an illegitimate child, was declared guilty, inſomuch, as ſhe did not expoſe her own weakneſs, and make known to the whole world her unhappy loſs of virtue; and to this may be attributed the deſtruction of infants ſo common in your country.

It is generally imagined, as Mandeville remarks, that ſhe who can deſtroy her own child, her own fleſh and blood, muſt have a vaſt ſtock of barbarity, and be a ſavage monſter. But this is a miſtake; all mothers naturally love their children; but as this is a paſſion, and moſt paſſions center in ſelf-love, ſo it may be ſubdued by any ſuperior paſſion. Common proſtitutes hardly ever deſtroy their children: nay, even thoſe who aſſiſt

in

in robberies and murders, are ſeldom guilty of this crime; not becauſe they are leſs cruel, or more virtuous, but becauſe they have loſt their modeſty to a greater degree, and the fear of ſhame makes no impreſſion on them.

Heart-rending thought, as the betrayed fair one cries, how dreaded art thou, SHAME! Rather than ſuffer it, what dire expedient is there to which a woman will not have recourſe?

——— e'er number'd with the dead,
Envenom'd infamy ſhall blaſt my name;
While envious ſcorn the baleful tale ſhall ſpread,
And feaſt upon the ruins of my fame:
Thus cruel will I be.
For what can purchaſe female honour flown,
Or buy the feelings of the ſpotleſs maid?

So ſpeaks the wretched Magdalen. In a word, the penal laws of Europe are too ſevere. Thoſe of England, perhaps, leſs ſo than others; though I cannot help wiſhing, that the ſtatute I have quoted

was

was repealed, or that the fault of fornication ſhould be either leſs criminal in the woman who yields to, or more criminal in the man who tempts to it: many others it might, perhaps, be well to ſubmit to the like lenient pruning. Clemency is greatly benefical to a people, and never ſhould be forgotten, when life or death is the alternative. Hitherto, what with legal maſſacres and religious perſecutions, Chriſtendom has appeared a prodigious ſcaffold covered with dreadful and monſtrous executions.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CXVI.

IS there no ſpot conſigned to real happineſs? Surely there is:

But where to find that happieſt ſpot below,
Who can direct, when all pretend to know?
The ſhudd'ring tenant of the frigid zone
Boldly proclaims that happieſt ſpot his own;
Extols the treaſures of his ſtormy ſeas,
And his long nights of revelry and eaſe:
The naked negro, panting at the line,
Boaſts of his golden ſands, and balmy wine;
Baſks in the glare, or ſtems the tepid wave,
And thanks his gods for all the good they gave.
Such is the patriot's boaſt, where'er we roam;
His firſt, beſt country, ever is at home.
And yet, perhaps, if countries we compare,
And eſtimate the bleſſings which they ſhare,
Though patriots flatter, ſtill ſhall wiſdom find
An equal portion dealt to all mankind;
As different good, by art or nature given
To different nations, makes their bleſſings even.

GOLDSMITH.

Thus

Thus the poet, in a very few lines, ſums up all that I have been labouring at in the foregoing pages; viz. to illuſtrate the ſuperintendant care of Providence, and the benign and equal diſtribution of its favours. But the comparative inveſtigation we have gone through, has not, I truſt, been altogether unſatisfactory. A review of paſt and preſent times will, at leaſt, furniſh us with a curious diſplay of the different cuſtoms, manners, and habitudes of even the ſame people, in different periods of their ſtory.

Writers of much eminence have earneſtly contended to prove the influence of climate on the mental faculties. The atmoſphere, in their opinion, regulates the genius; and even the ſoil they ſuppoſe genial or adverſe to certain ſpecies of arts, ſciences, literature and legiſlation. But has not the reverſe been demonſtratively aſcertained? Have we not ſeen, that there is no country without

without its portion of abilities; and that in every part of the world, men have been born with the ſame powers, both corporeal and intellectual? Intercourſe, commerce, and civilization, are indiſputably the grand cauſes of improvement. Thoſe in full bloom, and the people flouriſh. On the decline, and they recur to the barreneſs of their primitive ideas.

What are the Romans now? what the Greeks? what the Egyptians? Are they the philoſophers, the ſtateſmen, the warriors, ſo greatly renowned a few centuries ago? Alas! what a change! Where are thy wiſe men—thy orators, O Athens? Where are thy holy ſeers, O Heliopolis? Thy ſenators, conſulars, and dictators, O Rome? Gone—gone!—Not a remnant of them left! And have ye changed your climates? Trifling hypotheſis! Torrid, frigid, or temperate, no region poſſeſſes the

the powers of exclusive invention, or the brilliancy of superior talents.

The immediate tone of the organic system, the sluggish, rapid, or due circulation of the juices, most certainly affect the operations of the mind. No man can have his intellects in vigorous strength, whose frame is debilitated by pain, or any bodily indisposition. But can we suppose a whole nation valetudinary; or that certain winds, and temperatures of climate, can have the power of diffusing regular and permanent influence on sense? Individuals, indeed, are frequently under the absolute dominion of climate. I believe, said a Christian once, the immortality of the soul six months together; my opinions entirely depend upon the habit of my body. As I have more or less animal spirits, as my digestion is good or bad; as I breathe a finer or a grosser atmosphere; as my food is light or solid, I

am

am a Spinoſiſt, a Socinian, a Catholic, an Atheiſt, a bigot. The phyſician at my bed-ſide, and the prieſt always finds me at his diſpoſal.

The country which gave birth to an Ariſtotle, Plato, and Epicurus, is now doomed to nurture bigotry, ſuperſtition, and ignorance. Thoſe of a Galileo, and a Newton, were lately in a ſimilar ſtate of degradation; and in the progreſs of time may ſink into it again. Such is the inſtability of human affairs!

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT CXVII.

THE ancients, as we have already noticed, had names of celebrity to boaſt of; but their reſearches were generally ſpeculative. In ethics and moral philoſophy they were unrivalled. In poetry and hiſtory they ſoared to the higheſt pitch of eminence; but as naturaliſts, metaphyſicians, aſtronomers, navigators, and geographers, they never arrived at any degree of excellence. They were, however, it muſt be confeſſed, in every ſenſe of the word, the irradiators of Chriſtendom. Modern Europe culled from the Greek and Latin literature thoſe choice flowers of ſcience, which, by attentive cultivation, have ſince diffuſed ſuch beneficial influence throughout the world.

In forming an opinion of the genius, abilities, and writings of particular men, in particular ages, great care muſt be had that we tranſport ourſelves, as the profound Johnſon obſerves, to their reſpective times, and examine what were the wants of their contemporaries, and what were their means of ſupplying them. That which is eaſy at one time, was difficult at another. Of an opinion no longer doubted, the evidence ceaſes to be examined. Of an art univerſally practiſed, the firſt teacher is forgotten. Learning once made popular, is no longer learning; it has the appearance of ſomething which we have beſtowed upon ourſelves, as the dew appears to riſe from the field which it refreſhes.

Improved as the moderns are, and greatly advanced as they are acknowledged above Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, they ſtill have a great deal to accom-

accompliſh. Has not their aſtronomy the longitude to diſcover? Their mechaniſm the perpetual motion? Their geometry the ſquaring of a circle? Their experimental philoſophy the panacea, &c. And on ſome future day, when theſe knotty points ſhall be unravelled, if ſuch is to be their fate, ſhall not the renown of the preſent times be obſcured by the glory of a brighter age?

The ſober truth is, much has been explored by man, but much more remains to be diſcovered. Philoſophers daily ſtart up among the acute and ſubtle children of Chriſtianity. Their harveſts are various, for the ſeeds they ſow are diſſimilar. All ſpirit is the faſhion one day. All matter the next. Now we are virtuous and kind-hearted from nature. Next we are vicious, and, Yahoo-like, in abomination. In ſhort, we beat about the buſh, about it, and about it; but when we ſhall

be rewarded for our labour, God only knows. You remember the words of the ſatiriſt:

See ſkulking truth to her old cavern fled,
Mountains of caſuiſtry heap'd o'er her head!
Philoſophy, that lean'd on heav'n before,
Shrinks to her ſecond cauſe, and is no more.
Phyſics of metaphyſics begs defence,
And metaphyſic calls for aid on ſenſe!
See myſtery to mathematics fly,
In vain! they gaze, turn giddy, rave and die.
Religion bluſhing, veils her ſacred fires,
And, unawares, morality expires.

POPE.

It is alledged, that the ſentiment of humanity evaporates and grows feeble in embracing all mankind, and that you cannot be moved by the calamities of Tartary and Japan, in the ſame manner that you are affected by thoſe of European nations. This poſition, I own I do not entirely acquieſce in. I will admit the aſcendancy of that reputable and patriotic principle, which muſt reign triumphant in the breaſt of every man for his own country.

country. But I do not ſee why the inhabitants of the fartheſt Eaſt ſhould not be as well entitled to your kindneſs and regard, as thoſe who dwell with you in the ſame hemiſphere. To guard againſt unjuſt partialities and ill-grounded antipathies, and to maintain that compoſure of mind which, without impairing its ſenſibility or order, proceeds in every inſtance with diſcernment and penetration, are rightly ſaid to be the marks of a vigorous and cultivated ſpirit.

Of a general ſociety we are members, at the ſame time that we are parts of a diſtinct community. To act with firmneſs, humanity, and juſtice, in theſe relative ſituations, is the principal calling and occupation of our nature. "We can-"not have better talents than thoſe which "qualify us to act with men." For that

Manners with fortunes, humours turn with climes,
Tenets with books, and principles with times,

Is

Is moſt true. No inſtitutions are permanent. We fluctuate as the waters with the varying breeze. Let me here conclude. Your England is now eſtranged from America. The ſtrong voice of political reaſon, therefore, urges you to lenity and kindneſs in your diſtant, as well as in your home poſſeſſions. The preceding comparative remarks have been meant to tend to an elucidation of ſo important a ſubject. Hindoos, Muſſulmans, Malays, and all the numerous children of that grand diviſion of the Eaſt, may be turned to great and to noble account. In exalting them, I have not wiſhed to depreciate the Romans, the Greeks, or the Egyptians. I have only been deſirous of ſhewing, that merits as great exiſt in preſent, as in former ages. And that dead-letter ſpeculation is not ſo commendable, as the benevolent and immediate exertion of abilities and ſenſe.

Your

Your very venerable and candid Lord Clarendon, in regretting certain measures which had occurred during the calamities of the civil war in England, pathetically grounds himself at last, in the hope of the return of his country's primitive temper and integrity, her old good manners, her old good humour, and her old good nature. Those blessed emanations, I wish, likewise, to see radiantly shining round those nations with which you are connected. You are a great people; and possess an extraordinary fund of fine talents, and generous feelings. Let them not, therefore, be thrown away. You can sacrifice domestic comfort, tranquillity and retirement; in a word, the most attractive personal considerations, when the glory of your country is at stake. Banish, then, all little principles. Justice, mercy, and humanity, are the true and solid props of national, as they are of individual, dignity.

THE END.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

INDEX

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME.

A

ACRA, nuns of, their intrepidity at the siege of that place, 204

Adage of the Greeks, a remarkable one, 46

Adultery severely punished by the Spartans, 76

Agamemnon, his ferocity instanced in a passage from the Iliad, 5

Alva, Duke, his extreme cruelty, 216

Ambition, reflections on it, 138

Amor Patriæ, the ruling principle of action with the Greeks, 84

Anthony,

Anthony, execrated by the Romans for eſpouſing Cleopatra, 180

Ancients and moderns, inquiry into their reſpective merits, 289, 295

Ariſtides baniſhed by the Oſtraciſm: injuſtice of it, 59

Ariſtotle, his opinion of the puniſhment by Oſtraciſm, 57. Would never have artizans admitted into the management of ſtate affairs, 61

Athens, eulogy on, 17. Might juſtly boaſt of her orators, 85

Athenian philoſopher, ſaying of one on a propoſal for the toleration of the combats of gladiators in Greece, 123

Athenians, a brave, refined, but vainglorious people, 8

———, remarkable ordinance of the, 17. Ordered, that in caſe of a ſiege, the aged and infirm ſhould be put to death, 50. Cruelty to their ſlaves, 51. Reflections on the ſeverity of their ordinances, 51. Not ſo ferocious as the Spartans and Locrians, 54. Their wiſdom in paſſing their laws, ib. Had great diſlike to every kind of traffic, 60. Their marriages, mourning, &c. 81. Their ſuperſtition reſpecting the burial of the dead. Singular inſtance of it in the puniſhment of ten of their Admirals, 104

Attica, ſlaves better treated there than in any other part of Greece, 52
Augur, among the Romans, his character, 169

B

Bachelors among the Spartans ſubject to indignity and inſult, 73
Baldwin, Emperor, cruelty exerciſed towards him, 239
Bellarmine, his opinion touching the power and authority of the Pope, 228

C

Cadmus, ſuppoſed to have introduced the art of writing among the Greeks, 105
Caligula, introduced at Rome the cuſtom of kiſſing the ſlipper, 225
Cambridge, Mr. his deſcription of a Facquire, 243
Canadian Chief, ſpeech of one who was ſolicited to cede his patrimony to Chriſtians, 112
Cecrops, inſtituted the ceremony of marriage among the Greeks, 78
Celibacy and Monkiſh ſecluſion: reflections on, 246, 247
Celibacy, ſtate of, motives to it among the Greeks, 74

Charles V. Emperor, put to death 50,000 of his ſubjects on account of religious principles, 215

Chriſt, different opinions reſpecting the preciſe time of the birth of, 197

Chriſtian church, ſchiſm in, took place about the middle of the ninth century, 195

Chriſtianity, profeſſors of, in the earlier ages, their great inhumanity, 198, 239

Chryſoſtom, St. his opinion of a life of celibacy, 249

Cicero, his panegyric on the Olympic games, 62

——— miſtaken in his idea of Athenian excellence, 104

———, his opinion reſpecting the immortality of the ſoul, 154, 156

———, his opinion of the Deity, 162. His love of his country, 173

Clement VI. his bull iſſued againſt the Emperor of Bavaria, 238

Climate, inquiry into its ſuppoſed influence on the mental faculties, 285, 288

Conſtantinople, ſacked by the Mohammedans, A. D. 1453, 196

Conſul in ancient Rome, his great power, 119

Courage and reſolution, ſignal inſtance of, in the comfort of St. Louis, 203

Cowardice, infamy of, among the Spartans, 83

Cruſade to the Holy Land, the firſt in A. D. 1096; 198
Cupidity of the prieſthood formerly very great, 236
Curtius, his account of the plunder taken by the Phocians from the temple at Delphos, 32
Cyprian, St. his account of the converſations he had with the devil, 274

T

Demoſthenes, his opinion of Philip of Macedon, 8
———, his reply to Æſchines, 85
Devil, his reply to a Father of the Church, who threatened him for attacking one of the faithful, 65
Divorce, freedom of, among the Romans, cenſured, 181
Dog, a, formerly King of an Ethiopian nation, 152
Duelling, reflections on it, 93
——— never practiſed by the Heathens, ib.
——— when national injuries are the cauſes of conteſt, heroic and magnanimous, 91
Duels, abſurdity of ſuch as were to determine a right of inheritance, 100

E

Eleuſinian myſteries, as deſcribed by Cicero, 37.
Were held by the ancients in the higheſt eſtima-

tion, 38. Were inſtituted in honour of Ceres of Attica, 39

Epic poets, ancient, very unſkilful teachers of virtue, 13

Epictetus, ſaying of, 87

Eſchines, quotation from his oration againſt Cteſiphon, touching the laws of Athens, 54

——— attacks Demoſthenes, 85. Liberality of his ſentiments, 88

Europe, until the ninth century, a ſcene of confuſion and diſorder, 193. State of ſociety in, until the tenth century, 193. Manifeſted paſſive obedience during the ſupremacy of the Popes, 258

Europe, laws of, too ſevere — Reflections on capital puniſhments, 278—283

Excommunications, anathemas, &c. common in the firſt ages of the church, 237

F

Fanaticks, in all ages very numerous, 241. Their penances and mortifications, ib.

Francis I. King of France, his appeal to Pope Alexander, 223

G

Greece, had originally few arts peculiar to herſelf, 7

———, the peninſula of, divided into ſeveral ſtates — Sparta

— Sparta and Athens the moſt conſiderable, 8. Each Republic had its peculiar and ſtrongly-marked features, 9. Every city had its peculiar and diſtinct divinities, 24. Abounded in ſooth-ſayers, oracle-mongers, &c., 42. Had ordeals ſimple and complicated, 43. Produced great and eminent men, 105. Her claim to perfection, 106

Greeks inferior to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, 1. Indebted to Aſia and Africa for thoſe arts which they afterwards brought to perfection, 2. The ancient Greeks an uninſtructed and uncivilized race, ib. Robbers and pirates, 3. Their monarchs committed hoſtilities alike on friend and foe, ib. Oath of every military man, by which he bound himſelf to extend the dominions of Athens, 4. The ſocial virtues ſunk under the weight of brutality and force, ib. What they wanted in genius, made up by perſeverance, 7. Picture of them at the ſiege of Troy, 9. Firſt began to write 1493 years before Chriſt, 10. Credulous and ſuperſtitious, ib. Their Golden Age deſcribed, 11. Had more of imagination than judgement and proper diſcrimination, 12. Their philoſophers great and reſpectable characters, 13. Excelled in architecture, ſculpture, and writing, 14. Religion of, by ſome ſuppoſed to be derived from Egypt, by others from Thrace, 24. Their

great

great attention to the externals of religion, 25. Number of their deities aſtoniſhingly great, ib. Punctual in their ſacrifices, ib. Their idea of religion as collected from their mythology, 26. Tolerate a great variety of ſanctuaries, 27. Great hoſpitality, 28. Had their perſecuting and holy wars, ib. Their ordinances ſimilar to thoſe of the Hindoos, Iſraelites, and Egyptians, 30. Exhibited a multiplicity of gods, oracles, and prodigies, 31. Their morality and wiſdom in many inſtances conſpicuous, 37. Believed in the immortality of the ſoul, 39. Their ſuperſtition touching omens, 41. Repreſented by Tully and Polybius as treacherous and perfidious, 45. Aptitude to fraud, ib. A remarkable adage, 46. In ſome places puniſhed perjury with death, ib. Their hoſpitality as deſcribed by Homer, 47. Chamber of juſtice, 48. Mockery of juſtice as exhibited by this people, 49. Many of their laws unnaturally ſevere, 50. Conſidered oratory, war, and politics as the direct avenues to diſtinction, 62. Greatly delighted with the Olympic games, ib. Were more charmed with ſhows and public exhibitions than with the higher qualifications of the mind, 63. Expend more in the decorations of the theatre than would have carried on the war againſt

the

the barbarians, 63. Had a two-fold Venus, celeſtial and terreſtrial—Account of them, 66. Licenſe courtezans—Inquiry into the effects of it, 68. Unacquainted with the refinements of true and genuine paſſion, 69. Their unnatural and deteſtable amours, 70—72. From political neceſſity held matrimony in reſpect, 72. Had no idea of what the moderns ſtile gallantry, 78. Valour of, 83. Proud of their powers of oratory, 85. Rough diſputants, 89. Sometimes gave to handicraftſmen the command of their armies, ib. Time of their orations limited by an hour-glaſs, 90. Held virtue and integrity in little eſtimation, 92. Cruelty of their laws of war, 100—101. Their inhumanity towards their captive females, 103

H

Habeas corpus, writ of, commendation of it, 277
Heſiod, his deſcription of the Golden Age of the Greeks, 11
Hierarchy, its baneful influence in the firſt ages of the church, 191
Homer, his opinion of the ſoul's immortality, 39
Honour, true, what, 92. Reflections on it, ib.
——— miſtaken by its modern votaries, 99
Hume, David, his ſentiments touching the treatment of women, 77

I

Jewel, biſhop, quotation from his ſermon before Queen Elizabeth touching ſorcerers and witches, 273

Indulgencies, granted by the court of Rome — Reflections on, 235

Inquiſition, court of, inſtituted A. D. 1204 — Reflections on it, 211—215

Judea, land of, its extent, 200. Face of the country rocky and barren, 201

K

Knight errantry, origin of, 193

Knighthood, religious, three orders of, 209

Koſter diſcovers the art of printing, A. D. 1440, 257

L

Laws of moſt countries of Europe not comprehended by nine tenths of the people, 56. Should be clear, ſimple, and well defined, ib.

Luther, paſſage from, reſpecting indulgencies, 233

Lycurgus, his ſyſtem, 19. His conduct as a legiſlator cenſured, 20, 21, 22. Preſcribes the time at which a citizen ſhould marry, 73. Licentiouſneſs of many of his laws, 75—80. His cruelty, 80

Marriage

M

Marriage not sufficiently binding among the Romans, 181
——, reflections on it, 183
Maximilian I. gave the constitution of public peace at the Diet of Worms, 210
Maundrell, Mr.—Remarkable passage taken from his travels, 202
Menelaus, his address to Pisistratus, 3
Moderns greatly indebted to the Greeks for their acquaintance with the arts and sciences, 15
Monarchies superior to all popular forms of legislature, 87
Monasteries and religious houses baneful and pernicious, 250. Reflections on them, 251—255
Montchal, Charles De, crushes the Inquisition in France, A. D. 1645, 217
Montesquieu, M. his reflections on celibacy, &c. 247

N

Nation, the glory of a, not to be measured by the number of its people, or extent of its provinces, 16
Nations, abilities of, to be judged of from their progress in civilization, 191

O

Olympic games, a victory in, not leſs honourable, according to Cicero, than a triumph at Rome, 62
Omens, or lucky and unlucky days — Great credit given to them by Hindoos, Egyptians, Greeks, and Jews, 41. Exemplified in the conduct of Xenophon, ib.
———, or lucky or unlucky days among the Romans, many, 167. Device of Claudius Pulcher concerning them, 170
Oracles of the Greeks inſtituted on ſelfiſh principles, 32. Served to enrich the prieſts, ib. Conſidered as pious frauds, and how planned, 33. The Delphic the moſt famous, 34. Manner of giving the reſponſes, ib. When delivered by the Pythia, were uſually collected by the prieſts and put into verſe, 35
Orators among the Greeks, their manner of haranguing frequently illiberal and groſs, 85
——— among the Romans leſs faulty in their manner of haranguing than the Greeks, 92
Oſtraciſm, puniſhment by, as practiſed by the Athenians, unjuſt, 57. Reflections on it, 58

P

Paleſtine, account of, 201

Peaſant,

Peaſant, Athenian, his reaſon for voting the baniſhment of Ariſtides, 60

Penances and mortifications, abſurdity of them, 244

Phillip of Macedon, his religious zeal, 29

Philip II. of Spain, of an intolerant and perſecuting ſpirit, 216

Plato is of opinion, that a citizen who is addicted to commerce ſhould be puniſhed — Yet defrays the charges of his travels by ſelling oil in Egypt, 61

Plutarch, his opinion of the puniſhment by Oſtraciſm, 57. An advocate for commerce, 61

Poets, modern, greatly indebted to the ancients for many of their moſt beautiful ideas, 157

oets and players, among the Athenians, had full as much power as the firſt favourites of the State, 63

Polybius, his opinion touching the ſuperſtition of the Romans, 148

Polytheiſm of the Romans, 144

Pope of Rome, his great power and authority in former times, 219. His deciſions conſidered as the deciſions of the divinity, 223. Diſpoſes of crowns at his pleaſure, ib. Inſolence of many of the Popes, 224. Suppoſed by the multitude to be poſſeſſed of ſupernatural gifts, 225.

——, as repreſented by Romiſh writers, 228. Readily granted indulgencies, 232

Porcian law, its great lenity, 140

Prophets, have made their appearance in moſt countries, 31

Proſtitution, public, may be conſidered as a wholeſome evil in a State, 67

Pythia, her extatic manner of delivering the Grecian oracles, 35. How repreſented by Chryſoſtom and Origen, 36. How inſpired, according to the opinion of Juſtin Martyr, ib.

Q

Quintias, Conſul of Rome, his cruelty, 121

R

Rabelais, his reaſon for not accompanying the French Ambaſſador to an audience of the Pope, 226

Religion and philoſophy, true, æra in which they came to be underſtood, 257

Rome, origin of, can only be gueſſed at, 107. Power of the Roman ſenate, 117. Great power and authority of the Roman Conſuls, 118, 119. Laws of not ſanguinary, 139

Roman valour, examplified in the hiſtory of Siccias Duntates, 173

——— greatneſs, downfal of, 192

Romans, method of computing time, as originally deviſed by them, 108

Romans, their general character, 110. During the exiſtence of the Republic, made no proficiency in arts and ſciences, 111. Inferior to the Greeks in the polite arts, mathematics, and philoſophy, ib. Much to be commended for the love of their country, 112. Ferociouſneſs of their manners, 113. Their mode of Education, 115. Simplicity and conciſeneſs of their laws, 117. Addicted to cruelty, 121. Delighted in gladiatorian conflicts, 122. Their opinion of ſuicide, 124, 126. Frequently devoted themſelves for the good of their country, 126. Inhuman towards their ſlaves, 131. Treated their enemies with the greateſt ſeverity, 134. Admitted of a plurality of gods, 144. Their whole ſyſtem of mythology immoral and indecent, 149. Believed in the immortality of the ſoul, 154. Admitted of great freedom in all literary diſcuſſions, 159

——— gave unbounded liberty to all ſpeculative inquiries, 162. Extremely ſuperſtitious, 163

———, omens of the, account of ſome, 167. Held the character of Augur in the higheſt degree of reſpect, 169. Fond of praiſe, 173. Great lovers of their country, 174. Courage of the Romans not natural but acquired, and wholly the effect of diſcipline, 174. From being truly virtuous, be-

came abandoned voluptuaries, 178. Inſtances of their depravity. ib. Though they encouraged marriage, were extremely averſe from all foreign connections, 180. Profligate and licentious in their amours, 181. Their great indelicacy touching marriage, and the freedom of divorce, 183. Their mode of education greatly to be extolled

Romans, general obſervations on, 185,—187

———, ancient and modern, compared, 222

Ruſſia, laws there reſpecting Monks and Nuns, 250

Sectaries, numerous, 230

Seneca, his remarks on the ſuperſtition of the Romans, 164

Sheick, or old man of the mountain, account of him, 206

Sneezing, conſidered by the Greeks as an unlucky omen, 41

paniards, their great cruelty in America, as deſcribed by Las Caſas, 259

Spartans rigid and ſevere, 8

———, cenſure of, as ſtateſmen and legiſlators, 19. Addicted to thieving, &c. 21. Puniſh thoſe who are not dextrous robbers, ib. Not allowed to marry when and whom they like, 22. If child-

leſs

lefs, are obliged to lend their wives to other men, ib. Their females obliged to give into every ſpecies of indelicacy, 23. Inſtance of that indelicacy, ib. Their barbarity, 53. Their treatment of bachelors of a certain age, 73. Puniſh adultery with ſeverity, 76. The moſt hardy and robuſt of the inhabitants of Greece, 80. Their opinion of, and treatment of cowards, 83

Solon, his orders that courtezans ſhould wear a peculiar garment, 69

——, other laws of, 79

Suicide, practice of, prevalent among the Romans, 125

Superſtition, almoſt every nation prone to it, 30. Reflections on it, 43

Sybarite, a, thinks the Lacedemonian ſoldiers the moſt valiant in the world, and why, 82

Sybiline books, the great arcana of the religion of the ancient Romans, 153

Sylveſter, Pope, forges a donation of the city of Rome from the Emperor Conſtantine, to himſelf and ſucceſſors, 220

T

Theſeus, temple of, in Attica, a ſanctuary for ſlaves, 52

Tetzel,

Tetzel, indulgence granted him: form of it, 232
Toleration, univerſal, recommended, 262, 269
Trade not encouraged by the Athenians, 61

V

Valour, greatly eſteemed by the Greeks, 83
Venus of the Greeks twofold, celeſtial and terreſtrial, 66
Vhemic Court, in Germany, a religious tribunal, more ſanguinary than that of the inquiſition, 270
Voltaire, Mr. denies that the ancient Romans admitted of a plurality of gods, 145. Shewn to be wrong, 146

W

War, muſt always be conſidered as the child of neceſſity, malice, or injuſtice, 5
——, and its effects. Reflections on, 142—144
Wickliffe John, firſt queſtioned the infallibility of the church of Rome, 256
Winkelried, Arnold de, a Swiſs officer, his heroiſm, 128
Witchcraft and ſorcery, number of perſons who have been put to death on account of, 273
Wriotheſley, Chancellor of England, his inhumanity, 215
Writing, art of, ſuppoſed to have been introduced into Greece by Cadmus, 105

Zaleucus,

Z

Zaleucus, the Locrian lawgiver, ſingular ordinance of, 54
Zealots, as deſcribed by Lord Shaftſbury, 260

CORRIGENDA

FOR

VOLUME III. RHAPSODIES.

Page 22, line 7, before *long*, insert *as*.
—— 42, laſt line, for *Divines*, read *Diviners*.
—— 58, line 5, for *ſuperſtition*, read *apprehenſion*.
—— 108, —— 3, for *ſingle*, read *ſimple*.
—— 131, —— 10, for *command*, read *commanded*.
—— 171, —— 2, for *writing*, read *urging*.
—— 198, —— 8, for *circumſion*, read *crucifixion*.
—— 214, —— 2, for *their*, read *thine*.

LOGOMETRIA BYBLIOTHECA

DE

CONICIS

W.u.H. PERLING
BUCHBINDERE
MÜNCHEN 7
LEUTSTETTENERSTR